

ALLARD PIERSON STICHTING
UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM

ARCHAEOLOGISCH-HISTORISCHE BIJDRAGEN

UITGEGEVEN DOOR

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ANCESTRAL PORTRAITURE IN ROME
AND THE ART OF THE LAST
CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC

N.V. NOORD-HOLLANDSCHE UITGEVERS-MIJ.
AMSTERDAM
1932

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Munich, and Dr. KASCHNITZ—WEINBERG, Rome, generously supplied many a valuable suggestion.

I should also like to take this opportunity of thanking all others who assisted me in some way or other with my work, especially by giving me permission to publish photographs of works from the collections administrated by them.

Last not least I want to acknowledge the unceasing kindness and patience of Miss CURTIS GREEN who has given the first draft of my English text an exceedingly careful reading.

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CHAPTER I.

The first essential for a clear comprehension of Roman portrait-sculpture of the last century of the Republic consists in considering what preceded it and in tracing its origins. For long before there was any question of Roman art, nay, in a time when Rome had not yet asserted herself in any field, we can find elsewhere on Italic soil many an example of a flourishing art. It is remarkable that the oldest of these specimens are already to be found in the domain of portraiture, a sphere in which later on Rome was likewise to excel. The bare fact that at a time when Greek sculpture still clung to archaic type we find here real portraits with clearly individual features, points to a fundamental difference from Greek *Kunstwollen* which does not turn its attention to portraiture till much more recent times.

The extremely complicated history of primitive Italy and its ethnical diversity, lasting till far into historical times, do not facilitate the formation of a clear opinion on the development of the earliest art on Italic soil. Using HOMO's ¹⁾ conclusions from the latest excavations and other investigations we may assume the following course of events. In the neolithic age Italy was already inhabited. At the end of this period began the immigration of Italic tribes, the second and most important element of the later population of the peninsula; the Umbrians must have moved into Italy last of all. Towards the year 1000 B.C. they occupied Tuscany and Umbria and formed there the mightiest state of Italy which extended to the North as far as the valley of the Po. In their territory the Villanovan civilization was to prosper; simultaneously with their arrival the use of iron became common.

¹⁾ HOMO: *It. prim.* p. 31 ff.

Towards 750 B.C.¹⁾, with the foundation of Cumae, began the colonization of the South of Italy by the Greeks. This district in the following centuries was to become prominent in every field and an important civilizing power for the whole of the peninsula. But in the 4th century B.C. decline set in, due partly to internal disputes but chiefly to the gradual assertion of the Italic population.

The people however to form the most important state of pre-Roman Italy and exercise the greatest influence on the development of its civilization, were the Etruscans, who settled on the coast of Tuscany. Neither their origins, nor the time of their arrival are known. Considering modern investigations we agree with those who assume their coming from the East, viz. Asia Minor²⁾, as after all ancient tradition generally has it. In this case the Etruscans are a pre-Hellenic seafaring people who landed in Tuscany either dislodged by the Dorian invasions and therefore about the year 1000 B.C. or only in the 9th century and then probably by the pressure of Assyrian conquest. Most certainly we must imagine these Etruscan conquerors as a small group — also in consideration of their arrival by sea — enabled by its higher degree of civilization and its better equipment to dominate before long the inhabitants already established, to impose upon them its more advanced civilization and to require their services for further expansion. This latter set in in the middle of the 7th century B.C.; Latium and Campania were conquered. At the end of the 6th century attention was directed to the North of Italy. It then seemed for a moment, as though the Etruscans would for the first time unify the whole of Italy.

But towards the end of the 6th century B.C. the Italic population began to rebel, a resistance culminating in the so-called revolution of 509, which drove the Etruscans out of Rome. The loss of Latium with the consequent splitting-up into two parts was the first severe blow dealt to the Etruscan empire. In the 5th century B.C. its condition went from bad to worse. The Italic reaction increased in strength. On the other hand the internal forces of the Etruscans, arrived only in small numbers and exhausted by the burden of a long civilisation, were

¹⁾ SCHWEITZER in *Ath. Mitt.* 1918 p. 43.

²⁾ For the various views on this subject see SCHACHERMEYR in *Neue Jahrbücher* 1931 p. 619—622.

rapidly diminishing. The defeat suffered at Cumae (474) shattered their power in Campania; their northern territory was lost to the Gauls at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. The capture of Veii by the Romans marks the beginning of the end. These reverses were accompanied by internal troubles, another symptom of the failing of their own forces.

Towards 350 B.C. decline had reached its lowest point. After this date the political part, played by Etruria, is finished. The Etruscans, always scanty in number, were vanishing into the Italic population. Their civilization however was not to be lost but to be further developed on the same soil. Etruria still remained in many respects the teacher of Rome.

Thus in the 4th century B.C. both the Greek and the Etruscan power rapidly sank in importance and the Italic elements pushed forward with considerable strength. Among these Rome was to prove the strongest. The decline of the powers hitherto most important in the peninsula gave her a great opportunity. Rome, having known a great prosperity under Etruscan domination and thereafter a period of decline, was able — after the last crushing blow of the Gallic conquest (390 B.C.) — to recover rapidly. Animated by the vivid memory of her previous greatness and schooled by the Etruscans in every field, she gradually succeeded in winning an important position in Italy, even in establishing her supremacy and ultimately bringing about the unity of the whole peninsula.

In the domain of portrait-sculpture too Etruria is the most important part of Italy. Here we find the oldest specimens of an art to flourish for ages in this district. In this portraiture two periods are clearly marked off, between which there is a gap of nearly a hundred years (about 450—350 B.C.). The works of art of those periods are very different. The difference is twofold: it consists not only in the manner of representation, but likewise in the type of person represented. While in the first period, of which the sarcophagi from Cerveteri¹⁾ may be taken as typical, figures of a pronounced Eastern, very refined type are to be found, we see in the second period short thick-set figures with thick round heads. Such a big change in national type can not arise through evolution; it

¹⁾ Now in the British Museum, the Louvre and the Museum of Villa Giulia.

needs a fundamental change of ethnical conditions. Thus the explanation of PICARD¹⁾ that the change referred to was caused by the influence of Peloponnesian bronzes can be considered neither conclusive nor probable. Nor can the change in sense of form which appears in the absolutely different manner of working be explained by a sudden phase of clumsiness amongst all available stone-cutters²⁾. Nor yet can MUEHLESTEIN's³⁾ psychological reflections be considered very satisfactory.

But there is a simple explanation at hand. For when we compare the dates mentioned above with those of the history of Etruria, it appears clear that this gap falls in the period of the decline of the Etruscan empire; the second period only sets in when the latter has lost its power, when, as we have seen above, the old Etruscans hardly any longer existed, but had vanished into the Italic population. Therefore in this period not Etruscan but Italic type and Italic sense of form are to be seen. For the decline of the Etruscans signifies the rise of the Italians; a fact which MUEHLESTEIN neglects in his objections to a historical explanation based on the decay of the Etruscan empire. This fully explains why the type of the second period is, unlike that of the first, very un-Eastern and why it differs hardly at all from that represented by the Romans later on. The change in the sense of form too is to be attributed to the assertion of the Italic population; the same sense of form will be found also among the Romans. Although we cannot go as far as CULTRERA⁴⁾, ANTI⁵⁾ and others who consider all art in Etruria as "*arte italica*", from about 300 B.C. this name is certainly appropriate. This art must not be called Etruscan nor late-Etruscan; though geographically correct the name is in every other respect wrong and only adds to the confusion already existent. In any case this art may be called *indigenous* which is the term we shall henceforth apply to it. In this indigenous art the Etruscan elements are so much worked

1) PICARD: p. 333.

2) As quoted by WEEGE: p. 59.

3) MUEHLESTEIN: p. 115 ff.

4) CULTRERA in Stud. Etr. 1927 p. 71 ff.

5) ANTI in Stud. Etr. 1930 p. 150 ff. In this excellent study ANTI often approaches conclusions to which we also shall presently come, though by different ways. We cannot quote him each time but draw attention once and for all to his important paper.

up that they are hardly discernible; the Italic element is completely dominant as in the case of the population. In the field of art as in every other the Etruscan teachings were gladly accepted, but were applied according to the innate sense of form, so that, whatever one thinks of the Etruscan question, the art of the period after 300 B.C. may certainly be called *indigenous*. For in non-Etruscan territory also works of art are to be found which testify to a lesser degree of skill, but still to a kindred sense of form¹⁾. ANTI²⁾ in this connection points to some works in the museum of Aquileia. Even in Magna Grecia which occupies a special place in Italy owing to the intense colonization and consequent overpowering influence of the Greeks and with which, therefore, we shall not henceforth concern ourselves, there are probably more traces of this same sense of form than would at first sight appear.

But already before the date indicated the Italic element of the population had manifested itself. Since remote times we find besides the really Etruscan figures works of art of quite a different character already showing some of the symptoms to become dominant in the later period. They are *rustic and coarse* but, although of primitive workmanship, nevertheless very expressive. These works may certainly be considered as early manifestations of the Italic population. They are made under strong Etruscan influence, indeed they are not even conceivable without this. The Etruscans acted as a catalysator; under their influence the latent forces of the Italians were roused. When the Etruscans had disappeared, the Italians could continue their civilization.

In genuine Italic works the heads have a firmly enclosing, tight contour which is so severely simplified that the whole of the head, hair included, becomes an almost geometrical figure. In this geometrical form only a few features are separately put in; with these however a very clear and expressive characterization is always achieved. The expression is strongly concentrated, the other parts of the face are left plain. The marked aptitude for characterization is closely bound up with a keen interest in the individual. From this follows a pronounced predilection for portraiture. In the efforts to render as clearly

1) Cfr. BIANCHI—BANDINELLI in N. Ant. 1928 p. 11/12.

2) ANTI l.c. p. 161.

and as concisely as possible the personality of each individual, stress is laid on the most characteristic part of man, that is to say the head. Thence the fact that the body is neglected as being secondary, or is only rendered in such a way as to emphasize the expression of the head. ANTI's ¹⁾ excellent analysis of the *Obesus Etruscus* in the Archaeological Museum at Florence clearly shows how even a seemingly clumsy way of rendering is very well thought-out; there is conscious deviation from reality to the end of achieving a definite artistic result. Therefore there is no question of realism with which the aptitude for sharp characterization is often erroneously confounded. It is still almost generally believed that Italic and also Roman art are essentially realistic; wrongly, for realism has occurred only periodically in the course of their artistic development, it is however not one of the typical elements of Italic art. These consist, as we repeat, on the one hand in geometrization, attended by tightly enclosing contours, on the others in concise characterization with concentration of expression and neglect or subordination of secondary parts. The same is noticed by VON GERKAN ²⁾ in Italic town-planning; after recording the constant system of walling-in the Italic-Roman town he points out that the centre has to be emphasized, the side parts have to stand back. The same conciseness, the same aptitude for sharp characterization, the same way of expressing much by few means, can be found in two most important productions of the Italic mind: Latin language and Roman legislation.

Art on Italic soil has always been subject to a strong influence from the direction of Greece, indeed the course of its development can be considered as that of its conflict with Greek art. It has certainly gained much from this fervently admired neighbour, whose superior ability threatened at times however to be almost crushing. Great strength was needed to keep free from this smothering embrace. The Greeks had so perfected all means of expression that these had to be made use of by the Italians even at the cost of their own individuality. But the Greek influence in Italy was always a foreign one coming from outside and felt as such. So that it cannot be compared with that of the Etruscans which grew into one with the Italic element. Besides, this

¹⁾ ANTI l.c.

²⁾ VON GERKAN p. 128 and p. 147.

Greek influence was not limited in space or time, but lasted throughout the ages and went through all the stages of development of Greek art. Nor did the Greeks melt into the population as the Etruscans had done. They remained foreigners. Their art remained an imported one. The essence of Greek art was foreign to Italy, the admiration and hence the influence has always been external. It has nevertheless been a most important element in the development of her art. To avoid any suggestion as to limits in time or space we will henceforward call it *hellenic*, going from early-Ionic to late-Hellenistic.

In view of the division of country and population there can be no question of unity in the indigenous art. The connecting factor is the Italic sense of form to which we referred above. Not everywhere was it able to express itself. In some centres, especially on Etruscan territory, it could rise to great heights. In each of these, of which we mention Chiusi, Tarquinia, Volterra, Perugia, there is waged again the warfare between the indigenous and the hellenic element. But at the same time many local factors play a part and they must be held responsible for the great differences between the arts of these centres. These factors are not of an artistic character but political, economical, social, geographical, geological or ritualistic. They consist in dependence on and hence influence from an alien town, in the nature of commercial relations, in an accessible situation by sea or river or isolation on the top of a mountain, in the presence or absence of certain species of stone, in the domination of a certain group of the population or in special religious customs. Sometimes a special aptitude of the local population or the presence of a great artist may affect the direction of a local school. Some of the local factors can moreover exercise such a determining influence on the development of art as to be a constituent element in its formation; henceforth we will refer to such factors of determining influence as *local elements*. Next to the indigenous and the hellenic elements there is theoretically to be found in each centre a local element; these three elements and their mutual relation constitute its particular style.

In the domain of art also Rome was able to conquer the most important place among the many Italic centres; here too at last she brought about the unity of the whole peninsula. In the 2nd. century B.C. Italic art was not only concentrating in Rome, but this new centre was even beginning to influence the other ones.

So we must not speak of a strong influence of the art of Etruria — still less of Etruscan art — on the formation of Roman art, but have to consider the latter as its natural successor and continuer. On the other hand we must not go as far as ANTI¹⁾ who considers the entire art of the second period in Etruria as being under Roman supremacy. For in this domain Rome was far from precocious and was surpassed by many a centre of slight political importance. Her gradually conquered prominent position was entirely due to political supremacy, not to artistic superiority. For Rome's artistic personality was in fact so weak that even in the last century of the Republic she had not yet been able to form an homogeneous style of portraiture, as the other centres had already long since done. Even in the last century of the Republic the three elements are still so clearly marked off that we can speak of three groups of portraiture, each of which is characterized by one of these elements.

Thus we can distinguish an indigenous, a hellenic and a local group which will only amalgamate in the years 40—30 into the first real style ever created by Rome, that of Augustan art²⁾. In these same years we can follow also in coinage the formation of the Augustan style. This amalgamation was not sudden for already at the beginning of the last century B.C. — about 90 — the three groups began definitely to converge so that the portraits of that period, though each still clearly belonging to one of these groups, gradually show more and more of the influence of the other elements.

A typical specimen of the indigenous group, and that of the older period (before 90 B.C.), is the limestone head from Palestrina, already published by KASCHNITZ³⁾ as a very old example of Roman portraiture (Pl. Ia). Here we see again the firmly enclosing tight contour of the head, including the hair; we see only some features separately put in while the rest of the face has been left plain. Though on account of the prevailing hellenizing fashion of the last century B.C. specimens of the period after 90 B.C. are scarce, still we find an interesting one

¹⁾ ANTI o.c. p. 150 ff.

²⁾ For synthesis of indigenous and hellenic elements see SNIJDER in Tijdschr. Gesch. 1927 p. 119 ff.

³⁾ KASCHNITZ in R.M. 1926 p. 184 fig. 20. We suggest however a much later date than that given by the author; certainly far into the 2nd. century B.C.

in a limestone head of the Mussolini Museum¹⁾ which, besides being more refined than the former, shows especially in the part round the mouth the influence of the hellenic element (Pl. Ib). Other examples are a head in the Copenhagen Museum²⁾, one in the Louvre³⁾, etc. Tomb-portraiture, always somewhat backward, still shows in the first decades after 90 a purely indigenous type, though the heads are more realistic and less summary than the Palestrina one.

A beautiful example of the hellenic group is the head of the semi-nude statue of a general in the Roman National Museum⁴⁾, certainly to be dated in the earlier period (before 90 B.C.) (Pl. IIa). The full rich forms are not restrained by any firm contour. All parts of the face are equivalent and equally worked out, all collaborating to achieve a definite expression, less characteristic of what the individual is, than of what he ought to be. As well in the typically Greek idealism of its conception as in the purely plastic means of expression it clearly shows its Hellenistic character. A later head (from Ostia) in the same museum⁵⁾ however, though similar means are used to express a similar conception, still betrays in the tight contour of its skull the action of the indigenous element (Pl. IIb). Stylistically it is closely akin to a woman's head, also in the same museum, the style of which has been recently analysed by L'ORANGE⁶⁾ and which is dated by him about 90 B.C. A connecting link between the two heads discussed is formed by a portrait on a historical relief in the Lateran Museum⁷⁾ — akin to that of the Domitius ara⁸⁾ — which has thus to be dated shortly before 90 (Pl. IIc).

A beautiful terra-cotta head⁹⁾ in the Louvre (Pl. III) is clearly

¹⁾ STUART JONES: Pal. Cons. p. 233. Pl. 91 Giard. 17.

²⁾ GLYPTOTEKET n. 561. POULSEN: Portraetter fig. 13.

³⁾ Cat. somm. 2264.

⁴⁾ PARIBENI n. 104; same in Not. Sc. 1925 p. 252; CURTIUS in Die Antike 1931 p. 238. Pl. 25.

⁵⁾ PARIBENI n. 746; HEKLER p. 139; CURTIUS in Die Antike 1931 p. 247 fig. 10.

⁶⁾ L'ORANGE in R.M. 1929 p. 169 Pl. 32.

⁷⁾ Sala I n. 52.

⁸⁾ For the dating of the Domitius ara we refer to the studies of GOETHERT and of SCHÖBER (in Oest. Jhrh. 1931 p. 57/58), with whose conclusions we fully agree.

⁹⁾ In the Louvre, Room B., Campana 4307. The face measures 18 c.M.; only the upperlip and the left ear are slightly damaged.

marked as a member of this group by its idealistic conception, its pathetic expression — principally effected by the eyes and mouth — and the manner of rendering them. Still many features, as for instance the very un-Greek outline of the profile, the protruding underlip and fleshy ears, the rendering of a part of the hair by engraving speak of a thorough Romanization; therefore this head is also to be dated into the period after 90 B.C.

As to the third group, we have first to state the nature of the local element in Rome ¹⁾. This consists in the great place occupied in Roman life by ancestral portraiture. As these portraits in the period of the last century of the Republic knew the form of masks and played an important part at funerals, we have to confine our attention, before explicitly discussing local element and group in Rome, to the subject of funeral masks in general.

¹⁾ Cfr. BIANCHI—BANDINELLI in N. Ant. 1928 p. 13.

CHAPTER II.

In antiquity the usage of funeral masks was widespread in the area of the Mediterranean. As DIETERICH ¹⁾ rightly remarks, this usage may have three different roots. According to him, it may be based on the wish to preserve in the grave the most essential part of the deceased; on the belief of thus dedicating him to a deity; or on the desire to keep off evil demons. So we can distinguish among the masks, found in graves, three categories: preserving, votive and apotropaic masks. In this connection we will concern ourselves only with the first kind; so in the following the term *funeral masks* will always refer to this special category.

To get a clear conception of their significance we have to realize first of all that originally an essential difference existed between the custom of burying the dead and that of cremating them. Primitive peoples did not think that death was the inexorable end, but believed that the soul or ghost continued to exist in some form. So a diligent care for the dead is generally to be found and is not only to be attributed to natural sentiments of affection and piety, but chiefly to fear lest the soul, if it did not find rest and satisfaction, would come and trouble the living. But while those who cremate their dead, think the body superfluous or even inconvenient for the rest of the soul (or *casu quo* for its destruction), in the case of burying great value is attached to the body and an attempt is often made to preserve it as well as possible. The most effective measure consists in embalming. Sometimes this preservation is limited to the most essential and personal part of the body: the face, and a funeral mask is used. So naturally the use of funeral masks will belong only to burial rite as it is absolutely contrary to the fundamental idea of cremation.

BENNDORF ²⁾ rightly pointed out the connection between the

¹⁾ DIETERICH: p. 68, n. 2.

²⁾ BENNDORF: p. 70.

usage of funeral masks and the custom of exposing the dead for several days. In this connection it would only be found among a few members of a tribe, the nobles or even the chief alone. The long lying in state of the body of a chieftain or a king has been customary in many different ages. Of necessity; for to all subjects from far and near a chance must be given of paying the last honours to their ruler. And not only this; originally there must also have been an important element of inspection and the intention must have existed of giving everybody the chance to convince himself that the prince had really died; "to the extent that all men might perceive that he was departed out of this mortal lyfe", as is openly said on the death and exposure of Richard of England (1400). These practical reasons clearly appear from a curious variation of the custom of exposure, found among the Scythians, for whom, being a widely diffused nomadic people, the ordinary method would present obvious difficulties. For HERODOTUS ¹⁾ narrates that whenever their king died, the Scythians took the dead man — his body enclosed in wax, his belly filled with herbs — and carried him on a wagon the round of all the tribes who could then pay him the last honours.

But especially in hot countries it is impossible to preserve the corpse in a presentable condition for so many days. This makes difficulties, principally concerning the face which has to be shown uncovered. In this case the funeral mask comes to the rescue. Often however, it was not judged sufficient and the whole body was replaced by a funeral effigy. As the latter was for the most part covered by state-robcs, it often consisted of a manikin on which the funeral mask was placed. So there is a certain and sometimes close connection between funeral masks, funeral effigies and exposure, though all three of them can occur independently.

But though the funeral mask may have an important practical function, the preservation of the dead in the grave must always have been its principal purpose. It is not out of the question that this preservation involved some apotropaic action as BENNDORF ²⁾, BIEBER ³⁾ and others believe, but this only accidentally. In any case, as well for its religious function

¹⁾ HERODOT. IV, 71.

²⁾ BENNDORF: p. 69/70.

³⁾ BIEBER in P. W. XIV2, p. 405, V.

— the preservation of the most personal part of the body after death — as for its practical function at the exposure a real portrait of the deceased was needed.

Beware, however, of imagining these funeral masks as realistic portraits or modern death masks! For a portrait is according to DELBRUECK's ¹⁾ simple but conclusive definition "the representation, intended to be like, of a definite individual". So the fact that these funeral masks are portraits already implies their being like; for if such an intention can fail in one individual case, it can not do so with a whole species, accepted and approved of in its day. But likeness is a very relative conception, differing with every stage of civilization. "When we follow the historical development of the conception of resemblance it appears that in different ages quite different contents are understood by it" (WAETZOLDT) ²⁾. So that of primitive people will differ considerably from our idea of likeness.

The primitive artist will start from a definite type which represents an average of his entourage, severely simplified however to its most essential features; when this type has been mastered, he will have an eye for the most conspicuous variations. Then he will render the most striking individual feature of the person he wishes to represent and in such a way the first real portraits are made, as it were "by separate corrections to the type" (DELBRUECK) ³⁾. So KEMMERICH ⁴⁾ can rightly remark that portraiture begins with the rendering of one individual characteristic.

We must not moreover forget the magical efficacy attributed in times of primitive mentality to every image, if only its intention is clearly indicated. This indication can be sufficiently clear when the most characteristic feature is rendered without any necessity for detail. A curious survival in non-primitive times of this conception, drawn to its last consequence, is to be found in Egypt. From the finding of two wholly different portrait-statues, bearing the names of the same person in the latter's grave ⁵⁾, we may conclude that even the name, as

¹⁾ DELBRUECK: p. VII.

²⁾ WAETZOLDT: p. 73 cfr. p. 85.

³⁾ DELBRUECK: p. VI.

⁴⁾ KEMMERICH: p. 2.

⁵⁾ CAPART: p. 72.

part of the body, was considered sufficient to assure the magical efficacy of the statues.

Gradually the artist's power of observation becomes stronger while the belief in magical power weakens. More and more individual features are observed and rendered, till at a certain moment the artist quite abandons the type and puts himself without prejudice face to face with his model. This unprejudiced attitude towards nature gives evidence of a profound change of all conceptions; there is no longer any question of primitive mentality and hardly of any belief in magic action. At this moment the naturalistic portrait will arise. And afterwards, when this attitude towards nature becomes still more detached and when the former transcendental conceptions have been wholly replaced by rationalistic reasonings, realism will follow. This last stage will generally not be found with funeral masks, as the belief in their efficacy and consequently their usage will only occur in earlier stages of civilization. To the most important exception to this general rule and the special circumstances which brought it about, we will specially confine our attention in the following chapter.

A typical series of portraits of various stages is formed by the five golden masks from the Mycenaean shaft-graves. As is generally assumed, they are the funeral masks of princes of one dynasty, probably of the sixteenth century B.C., and can consequently be considered as a group with the same intentions though differently expressed.

In the first mask ¹⁾, beaten in thin gold-leaf, only a few features are rendered. The eyes are closed, eyebrows and eyelashes are engraved. Around the face runs, as generally in metal masks, a broad brim which however could be easily hidden by the shrouds enveloping the corpse. KARO wrongly denies any effort at individualization. For while eyes and nose are rendered in a schematic way, the very individual compressed mouth with its corners somewhat drooping certainly marks it as a portrait.

The much damaged second mask ²⁾ shows considerable resemblance to the first one, but in the general expression there is a distinct difference. Eyes and eyebrows are rendered in a similar though not identical schematic way. The ears are closer

¹⁾ KARO: p. 75, pl. XLVIII.

²⁾ KARO: p. 254, pl. XLVIII.

to the face than in the first mask. The great difference is however to be seen in the mouth, here slightly smiling, which gives a wholly different expression to the face. Its slight drawing awry shows the mouth to be that of a dead man.

A very personal form of face, also surrounded by a broad brim, is shown in the third mask ¹⁾. The mouth with its sunken lips, rendered by a groove, is again slightly drawn awry.

More individual and more worked-out features are shown in a fourth mask ²⁾, found in the same grave as the first two. It is worked in higher relief and has again the usual brim. It shows a high forehead, widely opened eyes with plastically rendered eyebrows and an indication of both eyelids, and a straight fine nose with nostrils and partition. The fine mouth with its thin lips has a broad smile, rendered by a curious bow. On the chin a beard is indicated. The ears are placed improbably high and show a happy schematic form which can be seen also in Etruscan canopics. This mask has such a vivid personal expression that it comes much nearer than the others to our conception of a portrait likeness.

But nearest of all comes the last and most beautiful of this series ³⁾, representing a man with moustache and beard. The brim is cut off except at the forehead where it is bent towards the inside. KARO rightly remarks that it is not clear whether the eyes are open or shut as the characteristics of both possibilities are to be seen. The nose is delicate and narrow. The mouth with its tight, thin lips is again slightly drawn awry. The whole face is much more completely worked-out than the others and marks in comparison to the first mask a much more advanced stage of civilization.

Many other funeral masks have come down to us, varying from the most schematic to very naturalistic portraiture. We will mention the most important instances. Masks similar to those at Mycenae have been found at Trebenishte ⁴⁾, on the Balkan peninsula, probably of the sixth century B.C. The mask, recently found in the eighth grave, has again the brim, usual with metal masks and now adorned with ornaments. In many a

¹⁾ KARO: p. 121, 163, pl. LI.

²⁾ KARO: p. 76, 259, pl. IL.

³⁾ KARO: p. 121, 164, pl. LII.

⁴⁾ FILOW: p. 13 Pl. I; Am. J. A. 1931 p. 183; Oest. Jhrh. 1931, p. 5—7, fig. 1.

respect e.g. as to the treasure contained, these graves resemble the Mycenaean shaft-graves. Archaeologists do not yet, however, agree as to the nature of the connection between Mycenae and the still unknown people of these graves.

To about the same time can perhaps be attributed the golden mask from Phoenicia, which appeared recently at an auction at Sotheby's ¹⁾. It bears some resemblance to those from Mycenae, but as none of the circumstances in which it has been found are known to us, we cannot form any opinion as to possible connections.

In Cyprus a terra-cotta mask has been found — also in Rhodos — and one made of limestone. The broad brim around its face clearly characterizes the latter as an imitation of a metal one. HERMANN ²⁾ notices a remarkable resemblance to bronze masks, found at Chiusi, which we will discuss later on.

A very curious application of funeral masks appeared in the Canaanite town of Bethsean ³⁾. In the excavations of 1921 big earthen jars were found, bearing a strong resemblance to Cretan *pythoi*, in which the tightly enveloped corpse had been placed. At the upper end, close to the opening, a mask was set, representing the face of the deceased with closed eyes; under it two arms were indicated. The men wear a diadem, the women a veil. Small accessory finds serve to date these jars to 1200 B.C. Probably these are not graves of the indigenous population but of the chieftains of an invading people. The obvious connection with Cretan-Mycenaean civilization points in the direction of the pre-Hellenic sea-faring peoples who in those days, according to Egyptian inscriptions, repeatedly invaded that region. As an Egyptian inscription found at Bethsean mentions amongst others the Turshaia, THOMSEN forms the attractive hypothesis that here we have to do with that people. The Turshaia are generally identified with the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans.

In much more recent times golden masks again occur. Three of them have been found in the region of the Euphrates, one of which is approximately dated by a coin of the emperor Maximinus (235—238) found at its side ⁴⁾. Probably they

¹⁾ Cat. Sotheby Nov. 1931; formerly Nelidow collection see POLLAK: Nr. 40, pl. VII.

²⁾ HERMANN in Progr. Winck. Berlin 1888, p. 88, 23.

³⁾ THOMSEN in Ebert II p. 4, Pl. 1a and b.

⁴⁾ In Ebert VIII, p. 330.

are to be connected with two highly interesting golden masks, found in South Russia.

One of these was found at Olbia, the other at Kertsch ¹⁾. The latter, generally called "the Mask of the Queen" was found in a tumulus, a form of tomb which often occurs in that region and which bears a close resemblance to Mycenaean vaulted tombs ²⁾. The spiral and butterfly motives found on many pieces of the treasure which it contains, are also similar to Mycenaean ornaments ³⁾. The mask was put on the face of a woman's skeleton, lying in a marble sarcophagus. It shows a striking portrait of a dead face in which even traces of the agony are still to be seen. By the inscription of king Rhescuporis on an accompanying silver plate which shows also the monogram A N T B, now explained as *Αντωνείνου Βασιλεως* the dead woman is identified as the wife of king Rhescuporis in the days of the Antonine Caracalla. In these days the barbaric element prevailed to such an extent, that one could imagine oneself according to ROSTOVTSSEFF ⁴⁾ "in the heart of the Sarmatian country". In this tomb, according to the same author, the furniture is astonishingly similar to that of the Sarmatian tombs on the Kuban, while its funeral rite is the same. Rhescuporis belongs moreover to a non-Greek dynasty; for Ti. Julius Rhescuporis is called in an inscription of the city Amastris "philhellenos", according to MINNS ⁵⁾ "proof positive that he was a barbarian". So we may assume with certainty that we have to do with a Sarmatian custom. The fact that women have always been revered by the Scythian people to which the Sarmatians belong ⁶⁾, may account for our finding for the first time the golden mask of a woman.

As we have already pointed out, a certain connection exists between funeral masks, funeral effigies and exposure of the dead. Curiously enough we have two literary references from wholly different periods, alluding to the observation of the last

¹⁾ Ant. Bosph. Cimm. p. 39; REINACH: ABC, p. 40, pl. I; ROSTOW-ZEW: p. 223; MINNS: p. 390, 433.

²⁾ Ant. Bosph. Cimm. p. 15; MINNS: p. 194.

³⁾ STERN in Hermes 1915, p. 161, 197.

⁴⁾ ROSTOVTSSEFF: p. 174.

⁵⁾ MINNS: p. 606.

⁶⁾ MINNS: p. 127; KRETSCHMER in P. W. 2te Reihe I, p. 2543 i. v. Sarmatae.

two customs by Scythian tribes. The first is the text already discussed of HERODOTUS (IV. 71) about the funeral ceremony of the Scythian kings, the second is one of AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (19. 1) who records exposure and effigy at the funeral of a prince of the Chionites, now identified as a Sarmatian tribe ¹⁾ (5th century A.D.). The curious form of the tomb and the occurrence of ornaments which are typically Mycenaean, point to a close connection with that civilisation.

For the present we leave aside the funeral masks of the Egyptians. Their extensive cult of the dead led them to apply almost every form of preserving the body in the grave. So funeral masks too have been found as well of gold as, later on, of gilded cardboard. But as a connection with the problem under review cannot be traced, it seems justifiable not to dwell on this category.

In looking over our list ²⁾ we are struck by the occurrence of Mycenaean forms and ornaments almost every time that funeral masks have been found. So there must have been some connection, whether it is that all these masks are offshoots of a common primitive custom, represented at an early stage at Mycenae, or — less probably — that Mycenae was the centre from which all of them derived. This problem is closely bound up with the important question whether the burial customs as appearing in the shaft-graves of Mycenaean are of Cretan or of Northern origin ³⁾; but this also lies outside the range of our subject.

However it may be, since late-Helladic times the usage of funeral masks was well-known in the Aegean area. When, therefore, we find them on Italic soil and that in the Etruscan district viz. at Chiusi, we are justified in thinking that this custom was imported from the East by the Etruscans, the more so as it cannot have come from the cremating Italians of that region. For — we again repeat — the usage of funeral masks goes only with the rite of burial. That pre-Hellenic sea-faring peoples like the Etruscans had occasion to know it too, is clearly proved by the jars of Bethsean discussed above.

¹⁾ TOMASCHEK in P. W. III, 2, p. 2286, 2526.

²⁾ We omit the funeral mask, dealt with by SIR ARTHUR EVANS p. 8 sq., as its authenticity seems very doubtful.

³⁾ BLEGEN—WACE: p. 36/37; EVANS: passim.

Five bronze masks and one made of terra-cotta ¹⁾ have come down to us from the territory of Chiusi, all of which show one or more individual features which clearly mark them as portraits. But unlike the other masks they were found in cremation tombs; originally they were even attached to the lids of cinerary urns. In a brilliant and conclusive paper MILANI ²⁾ has shown how the masks were first attached to the lids, how later they were worked in relief on them and how ultimately they grew into one with the lids, which then took the form of a human head.

Cinerary urns of that type are called canopics; arms are often indicated or added, while sometimes the urn itself assumes more or less the form of the human body. They mostly represent men but sometimes women and occur in their earliest form as early as 800 B.C. BIANCHI-BANDINELLI's objection ³⁾ to MILANI's theory, that primitive and rudimentary canopics also occur without any traces of a mask, is not very valid as primitive execution and very early date need not always go together; nor does his remark that this development must have taken place within a very short time, prove anything against MILANI's theory. While on the one hand there are many indications that these canopics only occur after the arrival of the Etruscans, on the other the close resemblance of the form of their urns to that of those of the Villanovans is obvious. From this and from various conformities between the tombs with canopics and the Villanovan ones, BIANCHI-BANDINELLI ⁴⁾ concludes that Etruscans and Villanovans are one and the same. In our opinion a different conclusion is to be drawn from the same facts. Etruscans and Villanovans are not one and the same, but in Chiusi the amalgamation of Etruscan and Italic population took place at a very early period. For only by the fusion of two alien elements can be explained the curious discrepancy in the illogical combination of funeral masks and cinerary urns. Probably the Etruscans came to the rather inaccessible Chiusi in such small

¹⁾ See MILANI in Museo Italiano I; Mon. Ant. 30, 1925, fig. 60 en 61. Another bronze mask from Etruria is to be seen in the Mus. Ant. Kleinkunst, Munich.

²⁾ MILANI o.c.; also BIANCHI—BANDINELLI in Dedalo VI 1925/6, I, p. 7—9.

³⁾ BIANCHI—BANDINELLI in Mon. Ant. 30, 1925, p. 450.

⁴⁾ BIANCHI—BANDINELLI o.c. p. 457.

numbers that they could hardly predominate. According to VON DUHN¹⁾ the Italic element always proved very strong in Chiusi.

In the Villanovan urns covered with helmets — which have been found especially at Tarquinia — an anthropomorphizing tendency has often been noted and so they have been considered precursors of the canopics. Wrongly, for the helmets do not preserve the personality of the dead in the grave but probably indicate their dignity and rank. We may compare the turbans on the sepulchral steles on the graves of Turkish Pasha's, who really cannot be accused of any effort towards anthropomorphization. No, notwithstanding their clear connection with Villanovan urns a strong foreign impulse was necessary to bring about the production of canopics; it seems obvious that this was provided by the invading Etruscans.

In this connection we should like to recall again the jars of Bethsean; there too are funeral urns with loose masks attached and an indication of arms. Although there the burial rite is still observed, such a pre-Hellenic people — as we pointed out akin to or according to THOMSEN's hypothesis even identical with the Etruscans — had only to come into close relation with and under the influence of a cremating people to produce canopics. As we explain the really profound differences with funeral customs, as found round the Aegean, by a strong Italic influence, we see — contrary to the opinions of BIANCHI-BANDINELLI²⁾ and MAC-IVER³⁾ and in agreement with MILANI — a close connection between the oldest funeral masks on Italic soil and those of the Aegean area.

When later on we find again in Italy, and then among the Romans, traces of funeral masks, the supposition is obvious that this usage was adopted from the Etruscans as was certainly the case with several other funeral customs. For a small *cippus* from Etruria, now in Munich⁴⁾, has on its top a mask worked in relief which is clearly intended to be a portrait and, as the eyes are closed and the mouth is drawn awry, the portrait of a dead person. This shows that even far into the second period of the art in Etruria, to which it has to be dated on account of the

¹⁾ In Ebert II, 5, p. 312; cfr. VON DUHN I, p. 349—350.

²⁾ BIANCHI-BANDINELLI in Mon. Ant. I.c. p. 448.

³⁾ MAC-IVER: p. 233.

⁴⁾ In the Mus. Ant. Kleinkunst Saal II.

other reliefs on it, funeral masks still existed. A small sarcophagus mentioned by BENNDORF¹⁾, on the lid of which a dead person is represented with a detachable mask on his face leads us to believe that in the second period at least the practical use of funeral masks at the exposure was still known in Etruria. There was that same function to be fulfilled among the Romans as they certainly knew the exposure — *collocatio* — which lasted for several days. Nor will the third of the triple alliance, the funeral effigy, be lacking. But as the important inheritance left to the Romans by their Latin cremating forefathers, included the lack of belief in the personal survival of the dead, the principal function of the funeral masks was foreign to their nature. Thus the way was open in Rome to apply them in a wholly different way.

¹⁾ BENNDORF p. 71 n. 4.

CHAPTER III.

No genuine Roman funeral masks have come down to us ¹⁾. Yet the Romans did at one time make use of them if indeed an exceptional use. Two literary references exist which must be explained as allusions to this. They are to be found in POLYBIUS and in PLINIUS.

POLYBIUS ²⁾ gives a detailed record of the funeral ceremonies of the Roman upper classes. He tells how the deceased is brought to the Forum where a vivid public oration is held glorifying his great achievements. After the funeral the portrait of the deceased is placed in the most conspicuous place in the house. A description of this portrait is given, from which it can only be concluded that it must have been a mask. He adds the curious information, that these portraits worn by persons, who in general appearance closely resemble the deceased thus represented, have in their turn to accompany other deceased members of the same family, who are thus as it were followed to the grave by a long row of ancestors. This is also the oldest reference to ancestral portraiture which appears at an earlier period to have been closely bound up with funeral rites. The quaint cortège described reminds us of similar processions among primitive peoples, where again the wearing of masks often occurs, always with a religious significance. Originally it must indeed have been not a mere ceremony but a religious procession of a magical character, though POLYBIUS like the true representative of Stoic rationalism that he is, does not see it as such.

POLYBIUS stayed in Rome between the years 167—150 B.C. and perhaps for some years after 146 and was great friends with many a prominent Roman, especially with the famous set of

¹⁾ The waxen heads from Cumae, now in the Naples Museum, which have been found in graves where the skeletons' skulls were missing have often wrongly been considered as such. As neither their meaning nor their date are known, we must not draw any general conclusion from their appearance.

²⁾ POLYB. Hist. 6. 53.

Scipio Aemilianus. So he must have been well informed from the best source of the doings and ideas of the upper classes. He certainly witnessed personally several funerals of the kind he describes. Did not for example the great Aemilius Paulus, father of his friend Scipio Aemilianus, die during his Roman stay? It must besides be considered that POLYBIUS is writing a scientific work, in the course of which we learn to know him as a brilliant and scrupulous historian and an acute observer. So we are absolutely entitled to take him *à la lettre* and we are compelled to consider each word carefully, being sure of its exactness.

A somewhat different case is offered by our second source. In a sally on the luxury of modern times, comparing the now usual *signa* — sculptures of any form — made of costly material to the simple waxen *vultus*, which in ancient times alone adorned the *atrium* and were also used at funerals, PLINIUS certainly refers to the same form of ancestral portrait and to the same funeral rite as POLYBIUS. Since to PLINIUS the *maiores par excellence* must certainly have been the Romans of the Republic and probably the austere and simple ones of the days before the civil wars, we may conclude that we have two references to the form of ancestral portrait usual in a certain period of the Republic, perhaps ending about 90 B.C. We certainly cannot accuse of inexactness or lack of information the industrious scholar who "thought all time lost that was not given to study", the author of the 37 books of that "work of great compass and learning and as full of variety as nature herself" ¹⁾. But unlike POLYBIUS, PLINIUS describes customs which have completely disappeared in his day, as is clearly shown by his wording. So the details with which they are attended in practice, though not by prescription, cannot have been exactly known to him.

The bare fact that in referring to the same, POLYBIUS speaks of what he has actually witnessed, PLINIUS of what had existed long before his time, points already to an important change in both funeral ceremonies and ancestral portraiture. Starting from the texts referred to, of POLYBIUS and PLINIUS and supplementing them with references from other authors we will now endeavour to trace this change.

¹⁾ PLIN. Ep. 3. 5.

POLYBIUS tells us that the funeral ceremony described occurs after the death of "τις τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν", one of the prominent men. In his day this group consisted of the then prevailing oligarchy. This oligarchy controlled all important offices; so we cannot be astonished that all ancestors who are mentioned, are represented wearing official robes and sitting on ivory seats. The ceremony seems only to take place for men. PLINIUS says that these "vultus" were used at "gentilicia funera", therefore at the funeral functions of the *gentes*. This agrees with the information given by POLYBIUS, since in his days it is exclusively *gentiles* who form the oligarchy and control the offices.

According to POLYBIUS the deceased was brought to the Forum, sometimes conspicuous in an upright position, more rarely reclining. The latter being the natural position of a dead body, the habit of carrying the deceased in an upright posture seems at that time to have been gaining ground. This seems to announce — if it does not imply — the use of a funeral effigy, as expressly mentioned on later occasions. On a relief from Amiter-num, dated by HUELSEN ¹⁾ to the end of the Republic or beginning of the Empire, we see the deceased carried on a bier in a half raised position which might point also to the use of a funeral effigy. In describing the funeral of Caesar, PLUTARCHUS ²⁾ informs us that the body of the murdered dictator was to be seen with all his wounds. APPIANUS ³⁾ gives us the solution of this enigmatic information, viz. that the real body of Caesar was not to be seen but that a waxen effigy was shown which could even be turned round by a mechanical device. This cool and ingenuous exploitation for political purposes of the once magical effigy testifies already to a long evolution of this custom and even marks its end ⁴⁾. At the funeral of Augustus as equivalent to the effigy are also carried a golden image and a third one ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ HUELSEN in R. M. 1890, p. 72; also STRONG in J. R. St. IV 1914, p. 156; STRONG: Apotheosis p. 175, pl. XXIII.

²⁾ PLUT. Caes. 68. 1.

³⁾ APPIAN. Bell. Civ. 2. 147.

⁴⁾ DIO CASS. 56. 34.

⁵⁾ SCHNEIDER in P. W. speaks unjustly of a waxen „Gesichtsbild des Augustus”; VAN HOORN places here the use of a peacock's feather to chase away the flies, a custom mentioned in connection with the funeral of Pertinax.

On the death of Germanicus some voices were raised regretting that the ancestral customs were no longer kept up and that no effigy was placed on the death-bed. The upright position mentioned by POLYBIUS points to the inclination to represent the deceased as living. This we shall find carried to its extreme when at Vespasianus' funeral the latter is represented, according to the custom of those times, by an actor wearing a scenical mask and even making the kind of jokes that could be expected of this thrifty emperor. A very enigmatic fragment of the not very reliable DIODORUS SICULUS ¹⁾ in which he narrates how well-born Romans were represented at their funeral by actors who had studied them during life-time, may lead us to believe that this custom began as early as the days of Augustus. But as the connection in which this passage has been written is unknown to us, we must be careful of our conclusions. Why and how the use of funeral effigies revived, though somewhat changed, in the days of Severus, lies outside the range of our subject ²⁾.

The portrait of the deceased is placed according to POLYBIUS, in the most conspicuous place in the house, by which he certainly means the *atrium*. PLINIUS too mentions their being in the *atrium* while later on we shall repeatedly find the ancestral portraits there ³⁾. Originally the *atrium* was not only the most conspicuous place in the house but especially the centre of the cult of the hearth and of the ancestors, two binding elements of the *gens*. During the Empire even the memory of these special meanings gradually got lost and the *atrium* was then only used for receptions and display.

The fact that POLYBIUS describes the bringing of the portrait to the house as a part of the funeral solemnities and speaks of "the portrait" might suggest that the latter — which further on proves to be a mask — had already a previous function on that same occasion. In that case it must have lain on the face of the deceased or, eventually, of the funeral effigy.

The shrines placed around the portraits, are mentioned by both POLYBIUS and PLINIUS. The former adds the information that they are made of wood. As according to him they are opened on special occasions — or as he puts it: the portraits are opened

¹⁾ DIOD. SIC. 31. 25 (Didot).

²⁾ See BECKERMANN in Arch. Rel. Wiss. XXVII, 1919, p. 5 sq.

³⁾ e.g. VAL. MAX. 8. 85. 1; SEN. Ep. 44. 5; SEN. de Benef. 3. 28.

— they must have been closed by doors. They are opened and splendidly adorned “ἐν τε ταῖς δημοτελεῖσι θυσίαις”, on the occasion of public sacrifices. Originally it will probably have occurred particularly on the occasion of the *gentilia sacra*, arisen from the cult of the first often legendary ancestor, the maintenance of which was afterwards superintended by the state. For it would be only natural that this day of days in *gens*-life should be attended by every *gentilis*, dead or living. Then it occurred on all religious feast-days. The expression εἰκόνας ἀνοίγειν is the exact translation of *imagines aperire* as is used by CICERO and SENECA ¹⁾. But in these authors we see that this occurs on any festive occasion. We can thus note traces of an evolution from religious rite to mere custom. Further information about the external aspect of these shrines is lacking, but supplementary monumental evidence exists. For they are represented on several tomb-stones. The simplest form is to be found on a tomb-relief at Copenhagen ²⁾ (Pl. IVa). The two shrines fit closely round the portraits, which appear in profile; both their doors are divided into two panels; they are finished by a pediment. The same form is found again on a tomb-stone in the cloister of St. Paul's in Rome (Pl. IVb). This shrine is more richly decorated. The pediment is adorned with ornaments and its angles are provided with *acroteria*. The panels of the open doors are adorned with ornaments on the inside, clearly an imitation of those usual in wooden constructions and suggestive of embossed metal work. The pediment crowns not only the portrait but also the open doors. A third instance can be found on a tomb-stone on the Via Appia (Pl. IVc). Here too a pediment, this time adorned with a rosette in the middle; here also two open doors divided into two panels, but now destitute of ornament. But here a further development from the former stages is to be noted: the doors are not really opened but made use of as ornaments. CONNESTABILE ³⁾ gives an engraving of another tomb-stone from Perugia, showing the bust or rather head with neck of a young man in a simple shrine with open doors. ⁴⁾

¹⁾ CIC. Pro Sulla 31. 88; SEN. Controv. 3. 21.

²⁾ In the Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen Nr. 1187. Prof. RODENWALDT kindly called attention to this relief.

³⁾ CONNESTABILE: Vol. IV, Pl. LXIII. 1.

⁴⁾ In our opinion the tomb-stone mentioned by MENDEL Cat. Const. I p. 127. nr. 35, has nothing to do with these shrines.

The portrait in question is, as POLYBIUS tells us, a “πρόσωπον”. This word means face, originally even the part round the eyes and mouth. So the portrait was no ordinary one, but a mask. The current word for mask: προσωπεῖον is of course avoided by POLYBIUS, for in his day this would have meant a theatrical mask completely enclosing the head. In the same way PLINIUS does not use any current word for mask but describes this kind of portrait in a similar way as “*vultus*”. This “face” is according to POLYBIUS, minutely elaborated to be of as exact a likeness as possible, as well “κατὰ τὴν πλάσιν” as “κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν”. The latter is generally translated by “painting” or “complexion”, neither of which however are ever expressed by this word. So we must not read more in this part of the sentence, than that the face had to bear a close resemblance as well in form as in drawing. Of the material used POLYBIUS does not speak. It cannot have been metal. For not only would the choice of the word “πλάσις” have been scarcely appropriate, but the wooden shrines too point to the fact that there was a question of a rather frail material which had to be protected. As PLINIUS mentions their being made of wax, it may be assumed with some probability that this was the case in POLYBIUS' time too, the more so as this material is very well suited for the purpose of obtaining an exact and even deceptive likeness. But terra-cotta could as well have been used and at an earlier period it probably was. Nor does POLYBIUS inform us whether these portraits were modelled free hand or cast from a plaster mould made on the actual features; PLINIUS on the other hand uses the word “*expressi*” typical of the latter process. So at one time and not long after the days of POLYBIUS they were certainly made in such a way. The emphasis laid by POLYBIUS on the question of the likeness points to its being a great problem in his days and suggests that if the process was not yet current, the time was ripe for it.

POLYBIUS narrates that such a funeral solemnity took place after the death of “τῶν οἰκείων τις ἐπιφανής”, a prominent person of the house or *gens*. This furnishes the explanation why he specially speaks of high officials among the ancestors, for in his day the most ordinary way of being prominent was to hold an important office. This restriction arose very naturally out of practice; that it was dictated by practice and not by any legal prescription appears from the text of PLINIUS who does

not know of any restriction and speaks of "*aliquo defuncto*". Describing, as we have already said, ancient customs, he could not know practical details though no law, if ever such a one had existed, could have escaped his keen eye. In the same way POLYBIUS only mentions ancestors who held important offices, while PLINIUS speaks of "*totus populus familiae*". As since the days of Cicero the terms *gens* and *familia* are used indiscriminately, this expression is only in seeming contradiction with *gentilicia funera*. We must not however forget that POLYBIUS in mentioning high officials who struck him by their conspicuous robes, does not tell us that these alone were to be seen. To this very natural habit of making portraits only of prominent men must be attributed the occurrence of the term *imagines maiorum* or even only *imagines* in the special metaphoric sense of illustrious forefathers, as found in CICERO, VALERIUS MAXIMUS and SUETONIUS ¹⁾.

POLYBIUS tells us that these portraits were put on by persons, resembling as closely as possible in stature and carriage the ancestor represented, who were clad moreover in official robes, when the ancestor in question had a right to them; a toga with purple border if he was a *consul* or a *praetor*, in a whole purple one if he was a *censor*, in one embroidered with gold if he had celebrated a triumph or achieved something similar. They rode on chariots, accompanied by the *insigna* according to their respective dignities and seated themselves on ivory seats; their achievements too were commemorated in an oration. In the same enigmatic fragment of his 31st book as mentioned above, DIODORUS SICULUS ²⁾ also refers to this procession of ancestors without however the slightest notion of its real meaning; he connects it with the custom of impersonating the deceased.

⊕ This part of the funeral especially gives "the impression of being petrified though in a gorgeous style" as BENNDORF remarks, which shows us its passing through a long evolution. The custom in itself must have been very old, for it is quite in accordance with the general idea of the *gens* that all *gentiles* should attend such an important function as the funeral of one of the members always was and was always to remain. But in remote times the persons representing the ancestors would not

¹⁾ e.g. CIC. Planc. 51. 18; CIC. Leg. Agr. 2. 1. 1; SUET. Vesp. 1; cfr. TAC. Ann. 6. 1. 10.

²⁾ DIOD. SIC. 31. 25 (Didot).

have needed to resemble them so closely for originally, as with every primitive faith, the mask in itself would impose upon the wearer a new personality by mere magical force; so the ancestors really attended the funeral themselves, not persons representing them. A close likeness would only be required in a rationalistic time with no belief in magical powers.

A curious allusion to this same custom is to be found in PLAUTUS' *Amphytrion* (v. 458). Mercurius has taken the shape — *sumpsi imaginem*, as he puts it himself — of the slave Sosia. After having examined him from head to foot, Sosia exclaims: "for this man possesses my complete shape, which I had till now. What nobody will ever do for me after my death, happens to me while I am alive". This most certainly alludes to the custom of impersonating the dead as described by POLYBIUS. It certainly is not a play upon words, rather too complicated for PLAUTUS' simple humour, referring to the carrying of images as NIXON, the English translator, thinks ¹⁾. For Mercurius bears a complete likeness to Sosia as well in face and stature as in clothes. The meaning of *imago* clearly appears moreover from Mercurius' statement itself (v. 124) ²⁾. As *Amphytrion* was written about 200 B.C., we may consider this the oldest reference to the impersonation of ancestors, which even suggests that already then a more or less exact likeness was required. After POLYBIUS, save for the enigmatic fragment of DIODORUS, the persons representing the ancestors are not mentioned any more, though for a long time ancestral portraits will still usher out the dead ³⁾.

The musicians and actors mentioned by SUETONIUS ⁴⁾ at Caesar's funeral belong to the scenical part of the funeral, which becomes more and more important when the religious character is disappearing; perhaps they are only used to display the tokens of honour of the deceased. In much more recent times at the funeral of Pertinax ⁵⁾ all Roman princes and generals are represented by persons wearing theatrical masks with the features of the respective persons. To the part played by the actor at Vespasianus' funeral reference has already been made. But those

¹⁾ In the Loeb Classical Library PLAUTUS I. p. 49.

²⁾ Cfr. *Amphytrion* v. 123 and *Miles Gloriosus* v. 151/2.

³⁾ See e.g. CIC. Mil. 33 & 86; VAL. MAX. 8. 15. 1; LIV. 48. 9; HOR. Epod. 8. 11; TAC. Ann. 3. 5., 4. 9. & 3. 76.

⁴⁾ SUET. Caes. 84. 4.

⁵⁾ HERODIAN. 4. 2.

discussion of veneration

actors must not be confused with the row of ancestors mentioned by POLYBIUS.

POLYBIUS ¹⁾ describes this funeral ceremony as being a typical instance of the pains taken by the State to produce men who will be ready to endure everything in order to gain a reputation in their country for valour. He points to the twofold happy result; first that the deeds of the great men are not forgotten, second — and most important — that the young men are thus inspired to endure every suffering in the hope of winning glory. Thus he does not describe it as a religious rite, but he takes a typically rationalistic view and looks for its explanation in a practical purpose. He only sees its important moralizing character.

So we only find masks mentioned in two places in written tradition ²⁾. What is their name? POLYBIUS speaks of "εἰκων" which only means portrait. He will however explain this word and tell us that here he means a "πρόσωπον", a face, a mask (in the modern sense of the word). PLINIUS speaks of "*vultus ut imagines essent*", of faces which had to serve as portraits. From the latter appears that at least in the day of PLINIUS no generally current Latin word for this special kind of mask existed and that certainly the word *imago* had not that meaning. The word εἰκων used by POLYBIUS is a translation of the Latin *imago* or *effigies* of which especially the former repeatedly occurs in the compound *imagines maiorum* or *proavorum* with the general meaning of ancestral portraits. But we again repeat that *imago* does not mean anything other than portrait and — especially in contrast to *statua*, statue — portrait-bust. It is used in speaking of portraits as well of the living as of the dead, irrespective of the material used. *Imago* never occurs in the special meaning of portrait-mask; only rarely is its meaning limited to that of ancestral portrait and then it is often metaphorically used.

Thus we conclude that in a period which certainly included the years 167—150 B.C. and which perhaps ended about 90 B.C., ancestral portraits consisted of masks also serving for funeral ceremonies. POLYBIUS points to the exact likeness of these masks to the deceased and alludes to their being made of a soft material; PLINIUS states that they are cast from a mould and made of wax;

¹⁾ POLYB. 6. 52. 11 & 53. 10.

²⁾ And not in „reichlichen Nachrichten“ as says KOCH: p. 76.

POLYBIUS tells that these customs were to be found among the group of prominent people; PLINIUS specifies: at *gentilicia funera*. In the discussion of other texts we have already referred repeatedly to the evolution of funeral rites, in the following we will concern ourselves with that of ancestral portraiture.

CHAPTER IV.

It has been generally assumed that it is a right of the descendants of curule officials to place the portraits of these ancestors in the *atrium* of their house and to carry them in funeral processions ¹⁾. This right is also defined as the right of a curule official to leave his portrait to his family, who were allowed to place it in the *atrium* and to carry it in public at funerals. According to a third author the possession of mask-portraits was by right a privilege of the *noblesse de robe* ²⁾.

From this variety of opinion it already appears that the definition of this so-called *jus imaginum* is not at all definitely established. We must not however marvel at this, as it not recorded in a single ancient source. So we are amply justified in doubting its existence. The only source which is often believed to provide an argument in its favour, is CICERO (in Verr. II 5. 14. 36) who mentions among the rights which his appointment as *aedilis curulis* will give him: the "*jus imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae*", which means that he will obtain the right to display his portrait to be remembered by posterity ³⁾. So apparently there existed in CICERO's days a right of high officials to erect their portrait in public. The same appears from CICERO Pro Rab. Post. 7. 16. That this was a special privilege cannot astonish us; for also prescriptions of censors are known, in which the erection of portraits in public is limited. With ancestral portraits, not to mention masks, this information of CICERO has nothing whatever to do.

We see no reason why anybody should not leave his portrait to his descendants, whether it had the form of a mask or not; nor do we see why anybody should not be allowed to place whatever portrait he liked in his own house, in the *atrium* or elsewhere. Nor is there known, lastly, any legal prescription that the carrying of ancestral portraits at funerals should be limited to certain clans or families. But there do exist prohibitions against

¹⁾ MOMMSEN: Röm. St. III, p. 464/5.

²⁾ VAN HOORN: p. 13.

³⁾ *Posteritas* never means descendants.

showing in public the portraits of certain persons wherein of course at the same time is implied the carrying of these portraits in funeral processions. Accordingly Caesar is acting in every respect against the wish of Sulla, as well by secretly erecting portraits of Marius on the Capitole, as by carrying them in the funeral procession of his aunt Julia, wife of Marius ¹⁾. In his description of both incidents PLUTARCHUS points with emphasis to the daring, indeed, illegality of Caesar's action. There are besides some prohibitions against the carrying of the portraits of definite persons, made for different reasons. Moreover we draw attention to the fact that the use of ancestral portraits at funerals occurred regularly during the Republic, but is mentioned in the Empire for the last time at the funeral of Drusus (9 B.C.) ²⁾. Cotta Messalinus proposes to forbid the carrying of the portrait of Libo at the funerals of his offspring (16 A.D.) ³⁾. VALERIUS MAXIMUS ⁴⁾ informs us, that in his time (the reign of Tiberius) the portrait of Scipio was fetched from the Capitole, where it had been placed, for the funerals of the gens Cornelia; the same occurred with the portrait of Cato, which had been placed in the Senate. Further references to similar customs are lacking, though various information has come down to us about funeral ceremonies during the Empire.

The custom of carrying ancestral portraits at funerals is however a part of the ancestor-worship of Roman *gentes*. The *gens* is in its origin principally a sacral union and as such kept together by the cult of the common first ancestor and that of the hearth. The cult of the common first ancestor undergoes an extension, it grows to a worship of all ancestors. The first ancestor is often identified with a mythical personage or deity who is then worshipped at the *sacra* of the *gens*. The *gens* has a common tomb, the funeral of each member has to be attended by every *gentilis*. The presence of all *gentiles* naturally supposes that of the dead ones too, "for in regard to the kinship of a clan, death at any rate has no effect; the bond of union never breaks" (WARDE FOWLER ⁵⁾). So the dead *gentiles* also usher out their descendants, at least in *effigie*. The *atrium*, where the ancestral

¹⁾ PLUT. Caes. 6 & 5.

²⁾ TAC. Ann. 3. 5. & 4. 9.

³⁾ TAC. Ann. 2. 32.

⁴⁾ VAL. MAX. 8. 15. 1.

⁵⁾ WARDE FOWLER: p. 69.

portraits are placed, has always been the centre of ancestor-worship and the cult connected with it. So the whole usage of ancestral portraits arises from a religious conception closely connected with the cult which only exists with the *gentes*; outside the *gentes* this conception does not and cannot exist. The only limitation of the use of ancestral portraits which we may assume, is this very natural one: there have to be ancestors.

The thesis of MOMMSEN that this usage at first only existed with the patrician *gentes*, afterwards with the plebeian *gentes*, also follows from the above. For as soon as the plebeian *gentes* formed themselves, they took over the whole ancestor-worship as without this the idea of a *gens* was not conceivable. The principal offices of state, first exclusively in the hands of the members of patrician *gentes*, were now controlled by the patricio-plebeian nobility, formed by patrician and plebeian *gentes*. When towards 200 B.C. out of their midst the oligarchy arises, it is exclusively *gentiles* who hold the high offices. As the making of portraits is confined to prominent members of the *gens* — as is most plausible in view of the extension of the *gens* and as is corroborated by POLYBIUS — it will in practice often take place with high officials, in this case curule ones. That this use is connected with the holding of curule offices as such, we absolutely deny as it is not vouched for by any ancient author. Of course later on the *homo novus* will often be considered by his descendants the *princeps gentis* as it were, and in this case they will revere his portrait. But we again repeat that these questions are not of a juridical character but are to be explained in a matter-of-fact way.

So the origins of ancestral portraiture and the first stages of its development are closely connected with the organization of the *gentes*. The *gens* with its ancestor-worship is of very ancient origin, but the anthropomorphic materialization of the ghosts of the ancestors probably only occurred — like that of other old Italic *numina* and deities — under Etruscan influence. In this case the funeral masks derived from the Etruscans, perhaps in connection with the *collocatio* as we pointed out before, could form the tangible objects of this cult. We will not concern ourselves here with the first stages, the discussion of which would after all be wholly hypothetical. For us the question only acquires importance from the moment that the old sacral significance of the *gens* has disappeared and in

connection with this the magic character of the ancestral portraits. This moment must be put towards 200 B.C.

Towards 200 B.C. a new period in the history of Rome sets in. For Rome, victorious in the Punic war, afterwards involved in foreign complications, grew from rural state to world power. This sudden change in the position of Rome could not fail to bring about a profound alteration in every part of Roman civilization. Neither the primitive religion nor the old organization of the *gentes* could any longer suffice. While the people in their dissatisfaction clutched at exotic worships, the upper classes sought appeasement in Greek philosophy. They turned especially to ethics, the moralizing character of which agreed best with their own natural interest. They would not however — Romans have always been conservative — break with the old customs but interpreted them in a new way; the rationalization of religion begins. It can easily be understood that with such a mentality the old sacral significance of the *gens* was vanishing; we see how POLYBIUS during his stay in Rome observes the old funeral solemnities but gives them a purely rationalistic moralizing explanation. As POLYBIUS almost daily associated with the leading set of Scipio Aemilianus, he will certainly have voiced the opinion of this group. This same moralizing tendency is also to be found in the works of the dramatic author Terentius and of the satirist Lucilius, who were both of them admitted into the same circle and can be considered as representing the opinions there prevailing. In those days not only was the sacral significance of the *gens* gradually disappearing, but by the decrease of the number of *gentes*, their splitting up into families, the emancipation of *clientes*, its significance in other respects was also diminishing. Beside it a new power was arising — also in consequence of political circumstances — the *equites* who did not yet hold offices but, owing to their wealth, began to form an important factor in Roman society. Through the influence of Greek philosophy attended by the weakening of the group-sense arose the interest in the individual and the sense of psychological observation, which are so striking also in Terentius and Lucilius.

These factors were to change the significance also of ancestral portraiture. Through the disappearance of the sacral significance of the *gens* vanished the magic character of the ancestral cult. The ancestor had no more interest merely as such; his impersonal

character was disappearing. The psychological interest laid stress upon the individuality of the ancestor. The inclination towards moralizing attached much value to his personal example. Now a summary resemblance was no longer sufficient, but a close likeness would be required. Now as wearers of the masks were selected persons bearing a close resemblance to the ancestor to be represented. As already pointed out, originally the mask in itself had the magic power of imposing a new personality upon the wearer so that the ancestor was not represented by somebody but was actually present. So it is quite illogical to speak in this respect of "magic realism" (KASCHNITZ¹); where realism begins any sort of magic has disappeared. The realism now arising, asserting itself even in religious matters, is a typical instance of the rationalization of religious conceptions.

The last consequence of the demand for exact likeness in the ancestral portraits — on which POLYBIUS lays much stress — is drawn in the process of taking moulds from the actual features, as recorded by PLINIUS. When the need of it had arisen, the process known since the days of Lysistratus was certainly made use of or a similar method was applied. Now wax was certainly used, which is not only easily cast, but is also very well suited for a deceptive likeness. It may be assumed that to make the resemblance as close as possible the mask was painted, the more so as polychromy in sculpture was quite usual²).

As the realistic current began about 200 B.C. and the taking of moulds from the actual features was its last consequence, we may assume, also in connection with the passage from POLYBIUS, that the use of cast death masks begins about 150 B.C. With this agrees PLINIUS' placing of it in the republican period probably before the civil wars, i. e. before 90 B.C. Now that the ancestral portrait had lost its magic character, now that portraits of living people began to occur — a phenomenon that still in 152 B.C. roused much indignation³) — the way had been opened for the concession of aesthetic demands. For not only had Greek philosophy schooled the minds but Greek artists and Greek works of art had likewise trained the eye.

¹) KASCHNITZ in *Formes* Oct. 1930.

²) This conclusion must be drawn neither from POLYBIUS' expression *ὑπογραφή* as already pointed out, nor from PLINIUS' remark that the "*pictura imaginum*" in his time had disappeared; cfr. Appendix.

³) PLIN. N. H. 34.6.30; cfr. MOMMSEN: *Röm. St.* I, p. 448, n. 2.

Towards 90 B.C. a new stage begins in which all phenomena of the former period are drawn to their last consequence. The old Republic, already considerably changed, threatened to collapse. Dictatorship superseded the old oligarchy, dictatorship, inevitably attended by terror and punctuated with periods of anarchy. In these troublous times birth did not prevail but force. The *gentilis* lost his privileged position. The *gens* had now become nothing other than a union of those who are of the same name. CICERO's exactness could only add that they had to be born from free-born parents, that none of their ancestors should have been a slave, that they must not be *capite diminuti*¹). In public life *gens* and *gentilis* as such were finished, in private life the family began to play a part, only in social life something of their old significance persisted. Another class was rapidly rising, again supported by its wealth: the freedmen. The rationalization of religion had grown into rationalism without religion. Awe-inspiring death itself was safely rationalized. "*Nil igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinet hilum*" exclaims LUCRETIUS²), while CICERO expresses the same sentiment in a less poetical and more prolix form in his first Tusculan disputation. The old religious customs, first interpreted in a new way, were now vanishing altogether. Greek fashion, now prevailing undisputed, and a sudden wave of luxury swept away all remnants of the austere habits of former days.

All this was to affect ancestral portraiture too, as well in meaning as in outward form. The portrait of the dead, now without any religious meaning, appeared ugly to the artistically trained eye which could no longer penetrate behind outward reality. With the disappearance of the old ritual the mask-form is no longer understood; with the complete rationalization of religious and magic conceptions the wearing of the masks had lost all sense and hence disappeared. So, as to the outward form of ancestral portraits, the example of the portraits of the living which had now become quite usual, changed the masks into portraits of the usual form, mostly busts. If death masks were still made, as probably occurred, they were quite worked up in the final portrait.

Besides, how many in these troublous times died in such a

¹) CIC. Top. 6. 29.

²) LUCR. Nat. Rer. III. 830.

way, that a death mask could be made? How many prominent men could have a grandiose funeral without the risk of giving offence to an important political party? The funeral solemnity celebrated on Pompeius' death as described by PLUTARCHUS and by LUCANUS ¹⁾, does not leave much opportunity for the taking of a death mask. Yet among the portraits in the funeral procession of Augustus, Pompeius' portrait is mentioned without any distinction, though it must have been a bust for which no death mask had even been a model.

If Appius Claudius (consul in 79 B. C.) had for the first time placed portrait-shields (*clipeatae imagines*) of his ancestors in the temple of Bellona ²⁾ founded by his ancestor, this example was soon followed by his successor in office Marcus Aemilius in the Basilica Aemilia and surpassed, as the latter did the same in his own house. These modern portraits were either meant to replace old ones i. e. masks, or at all events did so in the course of time. As PLINIUS expressly mentions Aemilius as the first, many progressive Romans will little by little have followed this example, though also in ancestral portraiture the bust is still the most usual form.

But notwithstanding all these changes ancestral portraiture in general did not yet vanish into ordinary portraiture; for as a rule ancestral portraits were still differentiated by the material used viz. wax, and in this connection by the placing in shrines. Much value was still attached to their moral influence. Does not SALLUSTIUS ³⁾ tell us with conviction that Q. Maximus, P. Scipio and other eminent men often declared "that they were fired on to virtue whenever they gazed upon the portraits of their ancestors"? But as this author expressly states, there is no question of any magic but of a moral influence: "of course neither that wax nor that figure had such force in itself; but by the memory of great deeds this flame is kindled in the heart of eminent men and is not quelled before their own virtue has equalled that fame and glory".

Now that the original ritual significance of funeral ceremonies had been forgotten and that on the other hand the position of women was rapidly changing, women were no longer excluded in any respect. In the same year that Caesar for the first time

¹⁾ PLUT. Pomp. 80; LUCAN. VIII 663 sq., 712 sq.

²⁾ PLIN. N. H. 35. 3. 12/13; STARK in Verh. Phil. Vers. 33. p. 38.

³⁾ SALL. Bell. Jug. 4.

pronounced a funeral oration over a young woman, portraits were carried in the funeral procession of Julia, wife of Marius ¹⁾. Gradually the portraits of women too were to take their place in the gallery of ancestral portraits. When we find on an early-Augustan tomb-stone on the Via Appia the portrait of a woman in a shrine, as we previously described, we may assume that this was to be seen in many an *atrium* too.

About 30 B. C. the Republic, already for some time tottering, collapsed. Dictatorship had past into principate. The *gens* had lost all real significance, the family had taken over many of its functions. Augustus tried artificially to revive old manners and customs as a part of his political program. Personally his belief in the force of example was to make him a champion of the stimulating force of the ancestral portrait ²⁾. Tiberius in the first years of his reign continued his predecessor's reactionary policy in the domain of morals. But already complaints were heard on the death of Germanicus (19 A.D.) that the ancestral customs were no longer kept up ³⁾. Yet in 16 A. D. it was thought necessary expressly to forbid the carrying of Libo's portrait at the funerals of his offspring. Still a young Volumnius from Rome felt the need to be placed into the tomb of his provincial forefathers ⁴⁾. Still in the first years of Tiberius' reign a *praetor* at his accession of office revived the old custom of holding an *encomium* of his ancestors and was duly praised by the Emperor for it ⁵⁾. Still VALERIUS MAXIMUS ⁶⁾, this *laudator temporis acti*, proclaimed the praise of the beneficial influence of the ancestral portraits with the emphasis however which marks the voice of one crying in the wilderness. These are the last sounds, rapidly trailing off, of the once so mighty hymn of ancestor-worship. The ancestral portrait as such ceases to exist and vanishes into ordinary portraiture.

After this short period of reaction under Augustus and in the first years of Tiberius' reign development resumed its natural course. The profound change in mentality clearly appeared in ancestral portraiture. The Roman, whose sense of tradition has

¹⁾ PLUT. Caes. 5.

²⁾ SUET. Aug. 89.

³⁾ TAC. Ann. 2. 32.

⁴⁾ Witness his Augustan ash-urn in the tomb of the Volumnii near Perugia.

⁵⁾ SUET. Tib. 32.

⁶⁾ VAL. MAX. 5. 83.

always been strong and who placed all hope of immortality in fame, could always remain attached to the portraits of his ancestors. Still a law of 326 A.D. ¹⁾ forbids the tutor of a minor ever to alienate the latter's ancestral portraits as being one of his most precious possessions. The ancestral portraits were still cherished, not to be worshipped however but to give evidence of ancient descent. The justified and humble pride which prompted Marcus Aemilius Lepidus to tell his son that "the funerals of great men used to be ennobled by the glamour of the portraits, not by the wealth displayed" ²⁾ had passed into real snobbery, not so much concerned with the great deeds of the ancestors in themselves as with the credit thereby given to one's own name. In vain SENECA ³⁾ exclaimed to these people that "none has lived to lend us glory and that which existed before us is not ours". In vain he protested that not an *atrium* full of smoke-begrimed portraits ennobles but a worthy character; that those who expose their portraits in the *atrium* and their pedigree in the entrance of the house are rather *noti* than *nobiles* ⁴⁾. Of course not every sentiment of piety and affection had vanished all at once. But in general snobbery, family-pride at the best, is the sentiment which makes later Romans cherish the portraits of their ancestors.

Nor are the portraits of ancestors any longer the only ones which adorn the *atrium*. If still the orator Messala's wrath was aroused on seeing alien portraits among those of his *gens* ⁵⁾, now it is quite usual "to cherish alien portraits" ⁶⁾. For does it not even testify to the social virtues and piety of Titinius Capito that he placed the portraits of Brutus, Cassius and Cato in his house? ⁷⁾ Nor is the portrait of the ancestor differentiated in material any more. While OVIDIUS ⁸⁾ is speaking of *cerae* in the *atrium* as of a usual sight in noble houses, JUVENALIS ⁹⁾ mentions with ill-concealed respect among the portrait-gallery of his

¹⁾ Cod. Just. 5. 37. 22.

²⁾ Liv. Per. Ex Lib. 48.

³⁾ SEN. Ep. 44. 5.

⁴⁾ SEN. De Benef. 3. 28.

⁵⁾ PLIN. N. H. 35. 2. 8.

⁶⁾ PLIN. N. H. 35. 2. 2.

⁷⁾ PLIN. Ep. 1. 17. 3.

⁸⁾ Ov. Fast. 1. 591; cfr. SALL. Bell. Jug. 4.

⁹⁾ JUV. Sat. VIII. 19.

enemy "old *cerae*" as a special token of very old descent. All portraits of the living will now be ancestral portraits for the descendants unless, as PLINIUS gloomily remarks, the heir should melt them down. For alas, the Romans of his age prefer that the material should be marvelled at by all rather than that they themselves should be known. So they often leave the image of their wealth, not of themselves ¹⁾. No worship, no belief in their beneficial influence can be aroused by portraits of that kind, which are hardly meant to have this effect. Ancestral portraiture has now completely vanished into ordinary portrait-art; portraits of ancestors will always exist, ancestral portraits are no longer made.

So we may distinguish three periods in ancestral portraiture: in the first period till 200 B. C. ancestral portraiture has a magic significance;

in the second period 200 B. C.—20 A. D. it has an ethical one;

about 20 A. D. the period of snobbery sets in.

In the first period it stands quite apart from ordinary portraiture, in the last one it no longer differs from the latter. So its greatest significance for the history of Roman art lies in the second period.

As to the outward form of the ancestral portrait, of the first period nothing is known. But it certainly did not always consist in a death mask, as is generally believed. HEKLER ²⁾ even speaks of primitive casts — as if the simple process of casting could not immediately be done well! — and curiously enough imagines them as the portraits on "Etruscan" urns, which are yet neither primitive nor casts! SWIFT ³⁾ agrees with this strange opinion. And all this notwithstanding PLINIUS ⁴⁾ express information about the discovery by Lysistratus, which clearly shows that this practice was only known in the 4th century B. C.! If it had been known in Rome before, the exact and nationalistic PLINIUS would certainly have known it and would not have omitted to record it with pride. On the other hand it need not have been introduced in Rome immediately. KASCHNITZ ⁵⁾ points for the early form of ancestral mask to the

¹⁾ PLIN. N. H. 35. 2. 4.

²⁾ HEKLER: p. XX.

³⁾ SWIFT in Am. J. A. 1923 p. 291.

⁴⁾ PLIN. N. H. 35. 12. 44.

⁵⁾ KASCHNITZ in R. M. 1926, p. 192.

masks and canopics from Chiusi, ANTI ¹⁾ to the same and for a later period, to the Ennius-portrait. Both certainly point in the right direction but still all assertions on the form of masks in this period remain absolutely hypothetical; the only certainty is, as we repeat, that the ancestral portrait had not yet taken the form of a death mask.

In the last period, as already pointed out, ancestral portraiture had become merged into ordinary portrait-art. The portraits of the Haterii ²⁾ which once adorned their tomb (now at the Lateran Museum) are wrongly considered imitations of waxen ancestral portraits in their shrines. First of all their execution clearly shows that there is no question of soft material; the hollowing of the back is to be found in all busts of that period, even when there is no question of imitation from a waxen ancestral portrait. The so-called shrines are no shrines at all as their sides are open and as they lack besides the most characteristic feature of the ancestral shrine, namely the doors. Though it is impossible to decide whether consciously or unconsciously some reminiscence of the ancient shrines has not run through the mind of employer or artist, still this form would have been possible without the existence of any ancestral shrines, simply by the evolution of Hellenistic forms of *heroon* ³⁾. If the architecture of the tomb were known, the reason and purpose of these baldachins would probably be very obvious.

The second and for our subject most important period of ancestral portraiture can be again divided:

in the years 200—90 B. C. a moralizing interpretation of its religious significance is given;

between 90—30 B. C. a purely rationalistic theory of its moral influence prevails;

from 30 B.C.—20 A.D. an artificial revival is attempted as part of a political program.

From 200 B.C. onwards, as we have already seen, a more or less exact likeness is demanded; about 150 B.C. the last consequence is drawn and waxen death masks are made. By

¹⁾ ANTI in Stud. Etr. 1930 p. 165.

²⁾ BENNDORF-SCHOENE: 343, 345; A. B.: 747, 748; HEKLER: Pl. 225a, 237a.

³⁾ cfr. Daremberg-Saglio i. v. Heroum.

their very nature none of these fragile masks has come down to us. Exact literary references to their appearance are completely lacking. So we do not know any particulars about this form which lasted till 90 B.C.; we can only assume, as already pointed out, that those masks were painted or coloured as polychromy of sculpture was quite usual.

About 90 B. C. this form was abandoned under the influence of the portraits of the living, the form of which was followed. Wax was still generally used. Fortunately we have enough representations left to get a clear notion of the ancestral portrait in this form though they are mostly of a rather later period. On the tombstone of the Copenhagen Museum (Pl. IVa), already discussed in treating the shrines, we see the portraits of husband and wife. The man's portrait in the left shrine consists of head and neck and a very small part of the breast; that of the woman on the right side shows a bigger shape of bust. The hair-dress of the latter dates this relief about 30 B. C. What can be more significant as to the position of ancestral portraiture than the simple fact that, according to the inscription, we have to do with freedmen?

A form similar to that of the man's portrait is to be seen on the tomb-relief of Paconius in the Vatican Museum (Pl. Va) ¹⁾. In the centre is a representation of a rural scene, perhaps one of apiculture as HUELSEN supposes but AMELUNG disputes. On the left a woman's portrait is to be seen, on the right that of a man, both of which show a curious hollow form and are supported by stands having no connection with the bust. The thinness of these excludes the possibility that the portraits were made of marble and makes it very improbable that bronze was used. Therefore we are entitled to assume with HUELSEN ²⁾ that they were made of wax and may be considered examples of waxen ancestral busts. This view may be supported by the fact that the production of wax forms an important part of apiculture and that Paconius was probably also a wax merchant if HUELSEN's supposition is correct. Both busts are placed on round plinths as shown by the small bronze portraits of Augustus and Livia in the Louvre ³⁾ and are dated by the

¹⁾ Cat. Vat. II. 435 b. Pl. 78, 4; Goethert p. 43; HUELSEN in Prog. Progymn. Grosslichterfelde 1887.

²⁾ HUELSEN l. c.; already suggested in Benndorf-Schoene p. 249; also Amelung in Cat. Vat. l. c.

³⁾ DE RIDDER n. 28/29; Goethert p. 43.

woman's hairdress to the beginning of the Empire as AMELUNG¹⁾ has already observed.

We probably have another representation of an ancestral portrait on a second Century sarcophagus of the Vatican Museum²⁾, showing some scenes of the myth of Laodameia and Protesilaos (Pl. Vb). On the right Laodameia is seen lying on a sofa, above which a kind of shrine is to be seen. In this shrine (without doors, probably because these could not be rendered in relief in such a small space) a covered head with neck can be made out. Already BENNDORF has rightly assumed it to be an ancestral portrait. But the indistinctness of its form has caused many a more or less fantastic hypothesis. SWIFT³⁾ for instance clearly sees in it a mask mounted on a bust. In reality hardly anything can be made out, for in the first place it is badly damaged and secondly it seems never to have been finished. The nose is broken off; this and the curious rendering of the eyes by openings (perhaps to receive inlaid eyes?) make a big hole in the upper part of the face. That it has never been finished appears not only from its coarse form but especially from the mouth, only the corners of which are indicated by bore-holes. Was it afterwards to be turned into a likeness like the unfinished heads of the central figures?⁴⁾

These still remains the problem why an ancestral portrait was represented in a mythological scene and that even in the second century A.D. Certainly not in anticipation of the *imagines* which would be carried at Laodameia's funeral as SWIFT⁵⁾ thinks, nor merely to characterize the house of Laodameia as that of a Roman noble lady, according to VAN HOORN's⁶⁾ opinion. But the solution is to be found in Roman literature. For the artist has not completely followed Euripides' version of this myth as HELBIG⁷⁾ thinks, but also that of OVIDIUS⁸⁾. While Euripides told that a waxen statue of

¹⁾ Cat. Vat. I. c.

²⁾ Gall. Candelabri nr. 113; HELBIG: I p. 248, nr. 385; Robert: p. 498 pl. CXXXII fig 423₁.

³⁾ SWIFT in Am. J. A. 1923 p. 286 ff.

⁴⁾ cfr. RICH i. v. Aedicula, who records a similar representation on a sarcophagus in the British Museum and gives an engraving of a similar bust in a shrine.

⁵⁾ SWIFT o.c. p. 292.

⁶⁾ VAN HOORN: p. 16.

⁷⁾ HELBIG: I. c.

⁸⁾ OVID. Her. XIII.

Protesilaos was made, OVIDIUS speaks of an *imago* made of wax¹⁾. Probably he was himself thinking of the waxen busts *par excellence*: ancestral portraits. Certainly the second century artist has so interpreted it. In order to give the scene a historical colour he chose the oldest form of ancestral bust known to him, of course with its inseparable shrine. This explains the occurrence of a Roman ancestral bust of shortly after 90 B.C. on a second century relief of a scene from Greek mythology.

For this same form of bust we point again to the tomb-stone from Perugia, already mentioned in discussing the subject of shrines. This head however is not covered as were the others. The covering of the head, found only in the oldest busts, perhaps shows an effort still to give the ancestral portrait some sacral character.

The well-known statue of a *togatus* in the Barberini palace (Pl. VIa)²⁾ carries with such ease in his left hand a man's bust of earlier style (Pl. VIb), that we may assume that the latter was made of wax, the more so as this impression is corroborated by the execution of the head, which certainly point to modelling in soft material. The bust in his right hand however is supported by a column in the form of a palm-tree; its execution, much more modern than that of the other one, shows no traces at all of soft material. So we may conclude with Mrs. ESDAILE that the second one was copied from a marble portrait. For the very difference in execution shows that we have to do with copies from already existing portraits. We have only to protest against Mrs. ESDAILE's views about *imagines* "in the strict sense of the word" and absolutely disagree with her that in the waxen bust any, not to speak of clear, traces of a death mask are to be seen. HEKLER is likewise wrong in speaking of a *togatus* with waxen busts in both his hands. No, as both busts are clearly equivalent, this is a curious document testifying to the mergence of ancestral portraiture into ordinary portrait-art. The form of toga and the style of the marble bust date this statue to the Augustan period. So it does not represent Caesar with the portrait of Marius. Nor does the head belong to it as appears as well from its style as from its different material. The head has

¹⁾ cfr. MAYER in Hermes XX (1885) p. 101—135. On two cameos (Babelon, Cat. cam. Pl. XV n. 149 & 150) a bust of Protesilaos, not a statue, is to be seen.

²⁾ A. B. 801—804; HEKLER p. XXIX Pl. 127a; ESDAILE in J. R. S. 1911 p. 206 f.

either been much worked over in recent times or is, more probably, a modern addition.

A curious resemblance to the waxen bust is shown in a portrait in the Capitoline Museum (Pl. VIc) ¹⁾, especially in its execution which here too suggests soft material. STUART-JONES, noticing the same, speaks elsewhere ²⁾ of "the waxen style" though there are no other examples entitling us to speak of a style. So we prefer to consider this a separate case where a marble copy has been made from a waxen ancestral bust. While the Barberini waxen bust and the portrait in the Capitoline Museum already show a much bigger part of the breast than the previous ones, the shape of bust of the last of our series, shown by the tomb-stone in the cloister of St. Paul's already discussed, points to far into the Augustan period.

Other examples are not known to us. The relief of Q. Lollius Alcamenes ³⁾ represents, as HELBIG has pointed out, a sculptor. The bust of Augustus held by Livia on the Vienna Cameo ⁴⁾, may be made of any material and has nothing to do with ancestral portraiture. Nor is there any reason why the woman's portrait on the lid of a sarcophagus in the Roman National Museum ⁵⁾ should be called an ancestral portrait; it is not carried by the husband moreover, but is supported by the lid and in its execution shows no traces of soft material.

So the tangible influence of the change in conception, which took place towards 200 B.C., can only be seen in ancestral portraiture when the last consequence has been drawn and the mask is made from the actual features, about 150 B.C. Only after that moment can a real influence on portraiture in general be pointed to. After 30 B.C. this influence ceases to exist, as the question is then only of an artificial revival and as then moreover the great synthesis of the three elements of Roman art took place. The period during which ancestral portraiture cooperated as a constitutional element in the formation of Roman portrait-sculpture, falls therefore between the years 150—30 B.C.

¹⁾ Sala delle Colombe 88. STUART-JONES: Mus. Cap. p. 177/178.

²⁾ STUART-JONES: Mus. Cap. p. 240, nr. 52.

³⁾ In the villa Albani, HELBIG II n. 1862; cfr. a tomb-relief in the Vatican Museum (Galleria dei Candelabri n. 185) representing a sculptor at work.

⁴⁾ FURTWÄNGLER: III 318; EICHLER-KRIS: p. 57, Pl. 5.

⁵⁾ PARIBENI: n. 339.

CHAPTER V.

In the first chapter we already took as proof of the not too high level of Rome's artistic ability the fact that by the last century of the Republic no homogeneous style had yet been formed and the three elements were still so clearly differentiated as to allow of our speaking of three distinct groups. Having there briefly discussed the indigenous and the hellenic group we now proceed to a more explicit discussion of the local one.

This group originates from the most characteristic form of ancestral portraiture in that period, the death-mask, cast from a mould taken on the actual features. We have therefore to consider first of all what are the characteristics of a death mask. As this analysis has always been omitted ¹⁾, the attribution of portraits to the influence of death masks has always been arbitrary and often wrong, whereas the symptoms of a death mask can be objectively diagnosed.

A few hours after death the face of the deceased has already considerably altered; the *rigor mortis* fixes these changes. These are due to two principal facts: the moisture of the soft parts of the face disappears and the muscles lose their tone because there is no longer any nervous stimulus. The combined consequences of both these phenomena are clearly discernible when we observe the death mask from a stylistic point of view ²⁾. The bony structure becomes more apparent. The form of the forehead of the skull grows very pronounced. Temples and cheeks fall in, cheek- and jaw-bones strongly protrude. This is more obvious in thin faces, in a less degree in the fatter ones which however fall apart into several clearly marked off parts. The closed eyes sink deep into the orbits because the moisture in the tissues supporting the eyeballs and the tone in the eye-muscles disappear. The bridge of the nose grows very pronounced; its tip falls in. The naso-labial furrows become deeper, the folds grow limp. The mouth hangs loosely down with

¹⁾ Cfr. however KLUGE II p. 8.

²⁾ See illustrations in BENKARD and in FRIEDEL.

drooping corners and is often drawn awry; the lips are sunken, especially the upper one, so that the distance between nose and lips is unnaturally lengthened. The chin, no longer under control, becomes long drawn out while its point falls slightly in. The entire face is often drawn awry owing to the position of the head. Every detail, every little line and wrinkle is smoothed away; death masks hardly ever show anything of the so-called "verism", generally attributed to them.

As to the portraits worked from death masks, in Rome they were always intended to represent living people. So the mask was not exactly copied but was worked up in such a way that at least the features most typical of death disappeared. First of all the eyes were opened. As the artist had to work from memory, he did not always succeed in making them really alive so that many death mask portraits, even well executed ones, have an empty, staring look. The mouth is also soon worked up, though the artist often neglects to shorten the distance between nose and mouth. As the mask itself was the only model the rest of the head had to be made from memory; accordingly the transition from the face to the back of the head is often badly executed, the ears are clumsily attached and portraits with a well executed, interesting *en face* often show empty and unnatural profiles. Further incongruities of a similar kind are often to be seen. Both the peculiarities of the death mask and the incongruities arising from its transposition to the image of a living person mark portraits as belonging to the local group.

A. The first head we shall discuss is a small terra-cotta in the Louvre ¹⁾ which has hitherto remained unnoticed (Pl. VII). It comes from the Campana collection; as is the case with most of the pieces of this collection, nothing is known either of the place or the circumstances of its finding. It is less than life-size. Head, neck and socle together measure 19 c.M.; the head itself 12 c.M.; the terra-cotta is about 2.5 c.M. thick. The back part of the head is lacking; on the left side the damage goes still further so that the left ear too is missing. Its surface has been much affected so that no details of execution can now be made out. The head stands on a somewhat geometrized neck; a ring, a little smaller in diameter forms the socle.

¹⁾ Room B. Vitr. K. S. 848.

This head has the characteristics not only of a portrait worked from a death mask, but of a death mask itself. The artist has not even tried to smooth away the most typical death-features. Even the eyes, sunken low into their orbits, have not been opened. They have been treated as a whole; the eyeballs are turned upwards so that the eyes are more bulging in the upper part; neither upper nor lower eyelids are marked. The sunken temples, protruding cheek-bones and fallen-in cheeks agree perfectly with the appearance of a death mask. The bony structure of the head is remarkably clearly shown. The tip of the delicate aquiline nose has dropped. The distance between nose and lips is unnaturally long drawn-out and taut. The lips have fallen in, the mouth is drawn somewhat tight. The energy and personality of the person represented are apparent even after death from the still controlled mouth and the energetic, protruding chin. The whole face which is in a reclining posture, has a very personal form and expression. The forehead is somewhat receding with the brow slightly contracted. The ears are very high above the cheek-bones. The right ear shows an individual form. As already mentioned, the neck has been slightly geometrized to serve as a base. Still the typically sunken neck of an old man is extremely well achieved; only from the regularity with which the tendons run obliquely on either side of the Adam's apple is the stylization of these real features apparent.

We can thus see in this portrait a very typical specimen of the local group; as no attempt has been made to work it up, we are even inclined to consider it the oldest example known.

B. Almost all the characteristics of a death mask are also clearly shown by a head belonging to a fragment of the tomb-statue of a *togatus*, now to be found in the small collection annexed to the tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia (Pl. VIIIa). Here we see again a very pronounced form of skull, protruding cheek-bones, sunken temples and cheeks and sharp jaws. But here the eyes, though deeply sunken, are open. The bridge of the nose is very sharp, the tip is broken off. The distance between nose and lips is unnaturally lengthened; so is the receding chin. The lips of the tight-drawn mouth have fallen in, its corners droop. Two grooves run between nose and mouth; the latter is rendered simply by one furrow. The sides of the face are left plain. The ears, placed at the normal level, are

carved into the head in a curious manner. The hair is roughly carved. The sunken neck is typical for a very old man. The entire head is turned to the right. Its surface has been much affected so that all details are lost. Nevertheless the excellent workmanship is apparent.

B bis. In the same small collection is a fragment of a face which has assumed more or less accidentally the form of a mask (Pl. VIIIb). Notwithstanding its extremely bad condition it clearly reveals its origin. For it shows a clear-cut form of skull and sunken temples and cheeks while the wide-open eyes have a vacant stare. The distance between nose and mouth, both of which are badly injured, is elongated; so is the chin.

C. A head in the Albertinum at Dresden ¹⁾, which gives the impression of having belonged to a statue, also obviously belongs to this group (Pl. VIIIc and Pl. XXIIb). Again we see protruding cheek-bones with unnaturally sunken cheeks and sharp jaws. The forepart of the skull is very clear-cut, the profile shows the features of the death mask most clearly. Seen from the side the tip of the nose is obviously sunken; the entire lower part of the face recedes; the distance between nose and mouth is again unnaturally drawn-out and taut. In absolute disagreement with these features are the full lips of the beautifully arched mouth. Obviously the latter has been worked up, and very perfectly. The same with the eyes; though deeply sunken they are wide open. But though the eyelids are somewhat schematic, the artist has made such good use of the shadows caused by the protruding of the forehead and has adapted the direction of the gaze so well, that the latter does not only avoid the usual disturbing emptiness but on the contrary achieves a high degree of expression. Two furrows run from nose to mouth, smaller ones are here and there on the cheeks and radiate from the eyes. The hairs are engraved into the hairmass, worked as a whole in very low relief. The treatment of wrinkles and hair is thus typically Italic in its neglect of the plastic laws, fixed by the Greeks. The ears are on a normal level. In the neck the Adam's apple and tendons are clearly to be seen. The entire skull has a clear-cut individual form.

¹⁾ A. B. 75/76; HEKLER: Pl. 138; CURTIUS in *Die Antike* 1931 p. 243/44 fig. 9.

The shadowed eyes with their earnest piercing look and the steady, firmly shaped mouth give by their very contrast with the sunken face a seriousness and dignity to the facial expression which raise this head, hardly more than a worked-up death mask, into the sphere of real art.

D. A head in the Copenhagen Museum ¹⁾ also shows many of these same characteristics (Pl. IXa). We are struck again by its very prominent bony structure. The cheek-bones strongly protrude; the jaws are sharply cut, especially in front. The temples are sunken, the cheeks have fallen-in. The eyes have sunken low; they are open but their eyelids are only schematically rendered and their gaze is empty. The distance between nose and mouth is long drawn out, the upper lip has fallen in. The mouth, indicated principally by one vigorous furrow, has lost its tension and is hanging down; thus a furrow is made under the underlip such as is very rarely to be seen in a living person. The reclining position of the face (cfr. head *A*) strengthens the impression that it has been worked from a mask and it does not thus to us seem so full of "*trotzigem Uebermut*" as HEKLER ²⁾ thinks it.

For the rest, the hair, cut short in front, is rendered as one mass into which the separate hairs have been engraved. In a similar Italic way the naso-labial folds are rendered like the mouth itself by vigorous furrows. Shallow furrows run vertically down cheeks and neck. The small part of the neck that is left, shows a pronounced Adam's apple.

E. A head in the Vatican Museum ³⁾ shows the same reclining position as the above (*D*) and again a very pronounced bony structure (Pl. IXb). The eyes are sunk low into the orbits; though the shadows have been well used, the gaze is still empty and staring. The eyebrows are plastically rendered. The nose is new. The distance between nose and mouth is drawn out as if the upper lip were sunken, but the mouth is that of a living man. The chin is somewhat elongated. The hair is again rendered as one mass, the separate hairs not being engraved but worked in very thin ridges. The sides of the head are not fully worked out, the ears are attached in a very unorganic way. The

¹⁾ HEKLER: Pl. 143b.

²⁾ HEKLER: p. XXXI.

³⁾ Mus. Chiaramonti 602; Cat. Vat I. p. 716 n. 602 Pl. 77; HELBIG 105.

entire surface seems to have been worked over at a much later period. Again the origin from a death mask is evident.

F. The portrait of an old man in the Roman National Museum ¹⁾ recognizable by a scar on his bald head as an Isis priest, also belongs to this group (Pl. Xa). Though a priest of Isis, he is of a real Roman type as POULSEN has already stated. The temples are sunken; the jaw-bones are very pronounced especially in front. Though the thick, carefully worked-out nose has been injured, the falling in of its tip can still be made out. The beautifully arched mouth still shows the tight-drawn upperlip of a dead man. The cheeks are sagging. Though the head is of very good quality, the sides are nevertheless almost plain and the ears are unorganically attached. The forehead shows folds and furrows; the wrinkles around the mouth are rendered by deep grooves.

G. The much injured head in the Archaeological Museum of Florence has also to be reckoned as one of this group (Pl. Xb). Here too we see the characteristic sunken temples, protruding cheek-bones, fallen-in cheeks and sharp jaws. Nose and mouth are too much damaged to allow us to draw many conclusions from them; as far as we can judge the mouth has been worked up, especially by drawing up its corners. The eyes are schematic and have an empty stare. The badly worked transition from face to neck, still emphasized by a furrow, and the same defect in the upper part of the head corroborate the impression that a death mask has been used. The hairs are engraved on the mass of the hair which is rendered in low relief. The quality of this work is very bad, its execution clumsy.

H. It is otherwise with a terra-cotta head in the Vatican Museum ²⁾, slightly less than life size (Pl. XIa). It stands on a neck under which a low rim forms a sockel. The neck is naturalistic, but the muscles are not strained as the reclining posture of the head would demand. Only a small part under the chin is taut.

¹⁾ Mus. Naz. Room XXIX inv. 1184. PARIBENI: n. 740. DENNISON in Am. J. A. 1905 p. 3; POULSEN in Mél. Holleaux p. 220.

²⁾ Mus. Etrusco-Gregoriano. KASCHNITZ in Rend. Pont. 1925 p. 347/8 Pl. XXV; POULSEN: Porträtstudien p. 13.

I. A head in the Vatican Museum ¹⁾ (Pl. XIb) seems also to belong to this group so far as we can judge from the little that has remained of the original. For the entire head-cloth is modern though perhaps attached to original traces of which something is still to be seen at the left side. Modern too are the whole of the neck, the nose, the middle part of the mouth and the upper part of the forehead. The little which remains shows the protruding cheek-bones, sunken cheeks, sharp jaws, deep-set eyes, drawn-out upper lip and drooping corners of the mouth, typical of this group. The reclining position of the head corroborates the impression that this head too was worked from a death mask. The entire bony structure is again very obvious, especially the protruding cheek-bones and the sharp jaws. The cheeks are sunken. The nose is broken off. Furrows are visible between nose and lips. The mouth, rendered principally by a groove, is drawn awry to the right side. The eyes and eyebrows are delicately executed in a manner peculiar to terra-cotta works. The sides are adequately worked out. The ears, somewhat damaged, are in a normal position. The mass of the hair is rendered in very low relief on which the hairs are engraved. This head too clearly shows its origin.

J. The portrait of an old man in the Vatican Museum ²⁾, generally called *vecchio calvo sacrificante*, shows many of the same characteristics, though in a less degree (Pl. XIIa).

Originally this toga-covered head probably belonged to the statue of a *togatus* in the act of sacrificing. Again we see the protruding cheek-bones, sunken cheeks and sharp jaws. The deep-set eyes are perfectly worked in a purely Hellenistic manner. The nose is new. The distance from nose to mouth is drawn out but worked up with a small groove; the mouth too has been worked up but the very deep arched groove under the underlip could only be found under the drooping mouth of a dead man. The furrows from nose to mouth are very deep and accompanied by plastic folds. The wrinkles on the forehead are formed by furrows and folds; the eyebrows are plastically rendered; little furrows radiate from the eyes. The ears are in their proper place. The plain upper part and sides of the head were originally

¹⁾ Sala dei Busti 381. Cat. Vat. p. 565, n. 381, Pl. 67.

²⁾ Mus. Chiaramonti. Cat. Vat. I. p. 379 n. 135; HELBIG: 68; BERNOULLI I. p. 156 n. 8 and p. 179; A. B. Pl. 451/2.

covered by the toga, the border of which is now broken off. Notwithstanding the strong Hellenistic influence apparent especially in the treatment of the eyes and the rendering of the wrinkles by plastic folds, the death mask origin of this head too is evident.

K. A head in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, formerly in the Stroganoff collection ¹⁾, shows in a still slighter degree similar characteristics (Pl. XIIb). Again we find a clear-cut contour of the forepart of the skull. The cheek-bones protrude, the nose has been restored at the tip. The distance between nose and mouth is long drawn out and taut, but where we expect sunken lips we find a very well worked up living mouth, though its corners especially on the right side are still drooping. The folds round the mouth hang loosely down, the *en face* is not marked off from the well made sides to which the ears are attached in a very natural way. Only the eyes remain somewhat schematic. Eyebrows and hairs are rendered by engraving. The neck, not very much worked out, clearly shows the Adam's apple.

L. Notwithstanding its lively expression a head in the Naples Museum ²⁾ still belongs to this group and has been rightly described as of death mask origin by POULSEN (Pl. XIIIa). For again the clear-cut form of the skull, the protruding cheek-bones, sunken cheeks and sharp jaws can be seen. The bridge of the nose is very pronounced, its tip fallen in. Though the mouth has been extremely well worked up, it still shows the usual elongated upperlip. These same characteristics have been observed by CURTIUS, who attributes them however to the avarice of the person represented. . . . The eyes have nothing of the schematic execution and empty look so often seen even in excellent specimens belonging to this group. The hair is worked in ridges and grooves. The ears are placed unnaturally low which strikes us particularly from the side view. The head is nevertheless of excellent quality.

M. A limestone head in the Aquileia Museum has been

¹⁾ POLLAK: coll. Stroganoff n. 10 Pl. XII—XIV with references to older literature. STRONG: Ancient Rome p. 106 fig. 112/3.

²⁾ A. B. 453/4; POULSEN: Portraetter p. 20 fig. 24; CURTIUS in Die Antike 1931 p. 229/30 fig. 1.

rightly recognized by POULSEN ¹⁾ as having been made from a death mask (Pl. XIIIb). According to this author, parts of the forehead, the bridge of the nose and the left eye and cheek have been restored. The remaining part clearly shows the protruding cheek-bones, sunken temples and cheeks typical of this group, while besides the whole of the face is drawn awry.

N. Another specimen of this group is the head of a *togatus* in the garden of the Naples Museum (Pl. XIV). Again protruding cheek-bones, sunken temples and fallen-in cheeks are noticeable. The eyes lie rather low but are well worked up. Eyebrows and crows-feet around the eyes have been incised. The nose is new. The distance from nose to mouth is again drawn out. The mouth, though clearly worked up, is still drawn awry to the right side. The sides of the head are not much but sufficiently worked out. The hair is roughly carved. The skull has a normal, not too pronounced form. Though clearly provincial work, this head is excellently done.

O. The badly damaged head of a marble tomb-statue outside the Roman Porta Maggiore, probably of the baker Eurysaces, shows many of the usual characteristics. The middle of the face is too much injured to show anything. But the clearly visible bony structure, the pronounced form of the forepart of the skull, the protruding cheek-bones and sharp jaws mark it without any doubt as one of this group. So also do the eyes, sunk low into their orbits and though open, not really worked up.

This brings us to tomb-portraiture and the discussion of several heads found on tomb-stones.

P. We have to mention in the first place the well-known very expressive portrait of Septimius in the Copenhagen Museum ²⁾ (Pl. XVa). Here again we are immediately struck by the sunken temples, protruding cheek-bones and fallen-in cheeks characteristic of this group. The eyes have been excellently worked up. The nose is new. Two furrows run from nose to

¹⁾ POULSEN: Porträtstudien p. 12/13, fig. 17—19.

²⁾ Billedtavler 556; A. B. 251; ALTMANN: p. 198; POULSEN: Portraetter p. 20, fig. 20; GOETHERT: p. 46; MESSERSCHMIDT p. 20 & 39, fig. 13; VAN ESSEN in Med. N. H. I. 1928 p. 32, fig. 1.

mouth. The lips have somewhat fallen in and the mouth is drawn awry to the left side. The neck is somewhat geometrized and reminds us of that of head *A*. The same geometrization is to be found in the upper part of the head. As this tomb-stone was at Vulci and is thus a provincial work, it is quite comprehensible that the indigenous element should assert itself.

Q. A beautiful specimen of this kind is a portrait on a tomb-stone formerly in the Lansdowne collection ¹⁾ (Pl. XVb and c). Its origin from a death-mask is very apparent as the temples and the cheeks have considerably fallen in; the cheek-bones are exceedingly protruding, the distance between nose and mouth is long drawn out, the chin is receding. The nose is new. The very well made eyes lie deep in their orbits. Deep furrows are to be seen on the forehead and on either side of the nose and the mouth. Like the above (*P*) this head is an excellent piece of work.

R. The head of L. Vibius on a tomb-stone in the Vatican Museum ²⁾ also clearly reveals its death mask origin. (Pl. XVIa). For again we see a pronounced form of skull, protruding cheek-bones, a long drawn-out distance between nose and mouth, a mouth drawn awry to the right side; this is rendered in a curious way by deep grooves. The eyes are Hellenistic and made like those of head *J*, but have an empty look. The nose is damaged. The entire head is slightly turned to the left; the left side of the face is hardly worked out at all.

S. The head of C. Gavius C. L. Salvius on a tomb stone in the cloister of St. John Lateran at Rome (Pl. XVIIb) shows again the protruding cheek-bones, taut sunken cheeks and pronounced jaw-bones which mark it with certainty as one of this group, though nose and mouth are too much damaged to allow of our drawing conclusions from them. The eyes moreover are sunk low into their orbits, they are open but not worked up in any other way.

T. The same is the case with the third head from the left

¹⁾ MICHAELIS p. 442; Catalogue of the auction by Christie p. 50, Pl. 73.

²⁾ Mus. Chiaramonti. Cat. Vat. I. p. 348, n. 60 E., Pl. 36; HELBIG: p. 63; HEKLER: p. XXIX, Pl. 134; GOETHERT: p. 46; C. I. L. VI. 28747; ALTMANN: p. 199.

on a tomb-stone with six figures in the Capitoline Museum. Again there are to be found sunken temples and cheeks and protruding cheek-bones. Though the mouth has been worked up to that of a living man, the distance between nose and mouth is very long drawn out. The eyes, intended to be Hellenistic, are clumsily inserted.

U. A beautiful specimen of this group is the marble head of L. Petronius on his tomb-stone in the cloister of the Roman National Museum ¹⁾ (Pl. XVIIa). The frame, usually plain, is here adorned with pilasters on either side of the bust which shows a rather late shape. Again we see a taut skull, protruding cheek-bones and sunken cheeks. The nose is damaged; so is the mouth, but its stretched and sunken upper lip can still be made out. The eyes also damaged can nevertheless be clearly recognized as Hellenistic; little furrows radiate from their corners. The forehead shows several furrows, plastic folds are to be seen between nose and mouth. The sides of the head are again remarkably plain. The neck is fallen-in; the collar-bones are much pronounced. This head too clearly reveals its origin.

V. The portrait of the doctor A. Clodius Metrodorus on a tomb-stone in the Louvre ²⁾ (Pl. XVIb) shows again a pronounced form of the forepart of the skull, protruding cheek-bones, sharp jaws, deep furrows from nose to mouth and a long drawn out distance between nose and lips, while the chin too is elongated. The eyes are deep-set and vacant; the entire face is strangely drawn awry.

W. The portrait of A. Antestius on a tomb-stone in the Vatican Museum ³⁾ (Pl. XVIIc) also has the characteristic protruding cheek-bones and the sunken cheeks, loosely sagging. Though worked up, the mouth still shows a stretched upper lip and is drawn tight with drooping corners. The eyes lie deep in their orbits.

Whereas several symptoms, typical of a death mask portrait, clearly mark each of the foregoing heads as belonging to the

¹⁾ PARIBENI n. 399, see Not. Sc. 1919 p. 283.

²⁾ Galerie Mollien MNL-A-834.

³⁾ Gall. Lapidaria Sect. XV. Cat. Vat. Pl. 24; BRANDT: p. 104, fig. 123.

group in question, many portraits are wrongly assigned to it.

The head published by POULSEN ¹⁾ as the oldest death mask portrait has only the protruding cheek-bones and sharp jaws in common with our group. The grimacing mouth is clearly not that of a dead man as POULSEN thinks. The entire work is moreover very non-Roman in appearance. GOETHERT's explanation ²⁾ that we have to do with the head of a manikin, serving as a model for anatomical studies, as usual in 16th century France, fully accounts for the two symptoms mentioned; at the same time it agrees with the mineralogist's expertise that the material used is French limestone.

In a head from Smyrna the pinched look about nose and mouth noticed by COLLIGNON ³⁾ and after him by SWIFT ⁴⁾, is certainly not pronounced enough to allow the conclusion that it has been worked from a death mask. Nor is the head so very realistic or are the eyes so incongruously vacant as COLLIGNON thinks. Though this head is not Roman and already for that reason does not belong to our group, we still want to combat the view that it has anything to do with a death mask.

We again repeat that in the probably waxen bust held by the Barberini *togatus*, we see nothing whatever of "all the realism of a death mask" as does Mrs. ESDAILE ⁵⁾. Especially "the loose lower eyelids" do not seem to us a very typical feature of the death mask which generally has closed eyes.

The head published by POULSEN ⁶⁾ as having been worked from a death mask, certainly shows in the rendering of the cheek-bones some influence of the local element. But as all other characteristics are lacking, we may only speak of an influence of the local element in this head which is a typical example of the period 40—30 B.C.

In the well-known terra-cotta head of the Boston Museum ⁷⁾ not a single trace of a death mask is to be seen. For — we again repeat — exact rendering of every fold and wrinkle does not point to the use of a death mask at all, rather to the contrary.

¹⁾ POULSEN in R. M. 1914 p. 38 ff.; Portraetter p. 19, fig. 20.

²⁾ GOETHERT: p. 71 n. 204.

³⁾ COLLIGNON in Rev. Arch. 1903. I. p. 1. ff.

⁴⁾ SWIFT in Am. J. A. 1923 p. 295.

⁵⁾ ESDAILE in J. R. St. 1911 p. 206 ff.

⁶⁾ POULSEN: Portraetter p. 20 fig. 14; Glyptoteket n. 563.

⁷⁾ CASKEY: p. 190; ANTI in Stud. Etr. 1930.

Nor is a very vivid expression a typical symptom of a death mask.

The bronze mask of Arolsen ¹⁾, often quoted as an example of a bronze replica of or a portrait from a waxen death mask, is without any doubt not antique.

Nor do we see any reason why the head in the museum of Turin, published by KASCHNITZ ²⁾ and others as a most typical example of a Roman death mask portrait, should be Roman at all as it is very un-Roman as well in conception as in execution. A careful comparison with all of the death mask portraits discussed above clearly shows that it cannot belong to this group. Though it is a death mask which is hardly worked up — only the eyes are opened — the profound difference with the heads A, B, and C is evident. Nor does it show conformity with any other Roman head. This head is only conceivable in modern times where, in contrast to antiquity, artistic interest is aroused in the phenomenon of Death itself and in the death mask as such, which is thus left untouched and copied unchanged. In Roman times the tendency always existed to give the portrait of the living person; in a period in which the Romans had such an advanced technique as is shown in this head, they were abundantly able to make from death masks portraits with hardly any traces of their origin. This contrast in attitude towards the death mask corroborates our opinion that the head in Turin is a more or less modern one.

In our opinion the beautiful terra-cotta head in the Louvre ³⁾ is not of death mask origin as POTTIER assumes, but gives a striking representation of an agonizing man.

HEKLER ⁴⁾ wrongly sees in the portraits of both old Vibius (head R.) and his wife the influence of waxen casts which he confuses with ancestral portraits etc., and that on account of their hard and dry modelling and their fixed expression; this is but one of the many misunderstandings in this field. He errs again in detecting the same influence in the figures of

¹⁾ BENNDORF Pl. II fig. 2.

²⁾ KASCHNITZ in R. M. 1926 p. 133 ff.; KASCHNITZ in Formes Oct. 1930; POULSEN: Portraetter.

³⁾ Room B Diphilos 614; MARTHA: p. 334, fig. 227; POTTIER: p. 116.

⁴⁾ HEKLER: p. XXIX; the same mistake is made by SWIFT as regards tomb-stones in general o.c. p. 294.

husband and wife, both of a purely indigenous type, on a tomb-stone in the Capitoline Museum ¹⁾, which is a typical specimen of the period 90—60 B.C. which we will discuss later on (Pl. XVIIIa).

¹⁾ HEKLER p. XXIX.

CHAPTER VI.

In the preceding chapter we have tried to fix the characteristics of the local group and enumerated its members, already noticing in this series the gradual disappearance of the most obvious features of the death mask ; in the following we shall attempt to establish its *chronology*. But when we set out to date these heads, we are immediately faced with a number of difficulties, as the art of the last century of the Republic is still so little known. One may even say that absolute dating is impossible, unless it be based on secondary circumstances. For there is always the question of the up-to-dateness of the artist — he may be of the old school, clinging to tradition, or among the modern pioneers. Then the problem becomes still more difficult when the work to be dated is of provincial origin: has it been entrusted to a local craftsman or to a provincial artist schooled in the metropolis, or even to a Roman? Such information being hardly ever at hand, absolute dating may be reckoned impossible. But as the history of art is ultimately interested in the development of style and only requires an exact dating of single phenomena in order to gather knowledge about that development, we are entitled to neglect these particularities, if only we realize that the dating has a theoretical and relative accuracy. So, when in the next pages we endeavour to date the heads discussed, we do not pretend to do more than date the type to which they belong in order to trace the development of the local group.

Besides these general difficulties there are others peculiar to our period. Hardly any of the portraits which have come down to us have been identified; the appearance of none of the great men of the period is known to us. The portrait of Pompejus has with some certainty been found, that of Cicero with great probability, that of Caesar is still vehemently disputed. The coins give only little help in this respect and still less support in stylistic matters as the relation between portrait-sculpture and coin-portraiture is still absolutely unknown. Only for particularities of costume and hairdress they can be very instructive.

This brings us to another difficulty, viz. the lack of objective criteria. GOETHERT¹⁾ has recently tried to establish two important ones, attempting to date the transition from *toga exigua* to the larger toga and the beginning of the women's fashion of wearing their hair in a raised "loop" or "roll" back from the forehead. Starting from the well known passage of QUINTILIANUS referring to the toga (Inst. Orat. XI. 3. 137) he tries to deduce from CICERO (Cat. II. 10. 22) that the friends of Catilina suddenly wore for the first time the "hypermodern, very large (*stoffreiche*) toga". As this harangue was held in 63 B.C. and it is said of Cato of Utica, who died in 46 B.C., that he wore an old-fashioned and short toga, GOETHERT places the date of transition between the years 60—50 B. C. But this argument is wholly incorrect. First of all it does not follow from the passage quoted from CICERO, that a hypermodern, very large toga was worn by the Catilinarians. A comparison with AULUS GELLIUS (VI [VII] 12) immediately explains CICERO's words as an allusion, very clear to his contemporaries, to the effeminate and perhaps worse inclinations of Catilina's set, clearly appearing from their feminine way of dressing in a long *tunica*, not in the manly toga (*non togis*). For, according to this author, Scipio had already brought against the effeminate Publius Sulpicius Gallus a similar reproach which in its straightforward wording can hardly be called an allusion and certainly leaves no room for doubt, while not only AULUS GELLIUS himself but also VERGILIUS and perhaps even ENNIUS attach this special meaning to the long-sleeved *tunica*. In none of these cases certainly can there be any question of a "hypermodern, very large toga"! It would not moreover have been very conspicuous if Cato had worn a toga only a few years out of fashion. For men's well known conservatism in dress must have been the same then as now and makes it moreover very improbable that so important a change as that from *toga exigua* to large toga should have been effected at all suddenly.

That this transition was indeed gradual, appears also from the passage of QUINTILIANUS (Inst. Orat. XI. 3. 137 ff.) mentioned, but not explicitly discussed by GOETHERT. QUINTILIANUS writes that the *veteres* had no *sinus* at all and that for some time after them the *sinus* was short. So there

1) GOETHERT: p. 15—23; p. 34—38.

was a definite period of transition. In finding out when this period was, we have to consider first of all who were in QUINTILIANUS' eyes the *veteres*. When we consider the connection in which this sentence was written, we see that QUINTILIANUS explains that the old orators were hampered in their movements by the narrowness of their toga and that gesticulation could only be fully developed when the toga was large. Now for QUINTILIANUS Cicero was the past master and ideal; each of his gestures he exactly studies and describes. Cicero clearly does not belong to the rather anonymous *veteres*. It also appears from his description that Cicero was not hampered in his movements at all. So in the latter's days even the period of transition had passed.¹⁾ If we put Cicero's oratorical appearance about 70 B.C., we may put the beginning of the period of transition in the first years of the first century B. C. This result, a dating towards 90 B. C., was already reached theoretically by HEUZEY²⁾ starting from the change in manners and customs, the increase of luxury etc. at about that time, a reasoning with which we wholly agree. For a change in toga, that proud symbol of Roman citizenship, clearly testifies to a profound change of mentality.

Monumental evidence strengthens this thesis. GOETHERT³⁾ thinks to find a support for his opinion in the domestic altars found in Delos, on which all the men wear short togas. As according to him Delos was destroyed in 69 B.C., the short toga was still usual at that date. He makes in the first place a logical mistake; even if Delos was destroyed in 69 B.C. all monuments do not necessarily date from the very last years before this moment. Furthermore his argument is wrong *de facto*. For by far the greater part of the Delian monuments date from before the devastation of 88 B.C. As to these altars, BULARD⁴⁾ declares emphatically that they are much older than the Pompeian ones (from 78 onwards), while ROUSSEL⁵⁾ though without laying stress on the dating, discusses them in the period before 88 B.C. These monuments thus give no support to either thesis. But it is otherwise with the coins, also quoted by GOETHERT⁶⁾ in support of his argument.

1) Cfr. HEUZEY: p. 278.

2) HEUZEY: p. 277.

3) GOETHERT: p. 17.

4) BULARD in Mon. Piot XIV. 1908 p. 88/89.

5) ROUSSEL: p. 277 ff.

6) GOETHERT: p. 17.

On the two coins he first mentions (125-100 B. C.) the toga's are certainly very short and tight so that the whole shape of the body can be made out. On the coins ¹⁾ of M. Fannus and L. Critonius (88-86 B.C.) very little can be seen as both *togati* are shown seated. The toga still gives an impression of tightness but the horizontal position of the right arms of the figures on the right may suggest a beginning of *sinus*. The *togati* on the coins ²⁾ of A. Postumius Albus and A. Postumius Albinus (about 82 B.C.) certainly wear a toga which has a *sinus* and hangs loosely down with folds between the legs. The rather coarse *togatus* on the coin ³⁾ of Paullus Lepidus (about 71 B.C.) already shows the large toga. An extremely rich one, seemingly made of finer material, is to be found on the coin ⁴⁾ of M. Aemilius Lepidus (about 65 B.C.). So the gradual change can be exactly traced by means of the coins, provided that one does not, like GOETHERT, pass over the very coins of the period of transition.

In fixing the second objective criterion GOETHERT ⁵⁾ makes another logical mistake. We quite agree that the *hairstress* of the woman's portrait on the *aureus* of Antonius ⁶⁾ provides an accurate date as a starting point, but we cannot agree with his conclusion that this coiffure — of which the raised "loop" or "roll" is the most characteristic part — is to be dated from the date of the coin (40 B. C.) as, theoretically, it might as well have been one of the last examples of that coiffure. STEININGER ⁷⁾ who dates the coin to 43 B.C., draws the same conclusion as GOETHERT. But, most important of all, GOETHERT has also made a mistake in his facts. For three coins ⁸⁾ of M. Plaetorius M. F. Cestianus (about 68 B.C.) already show the most characteristic part of the coiffure, the "loop" or "roll" itself, though not yet so stiffly arranged. The hairdress on two of them (21, 22) also shows a thick strand of hair across the back of the head as worn, according to L'ORANGE ⁹⁾, in the first decennia of the

¹⁾ GRUEBER I. 314 n. 2463; III. Pl. 38. 6—7.

²⁾ GRUEBER III. Pl. XL. 15—16.

³⁾ GRUEBER III. Pl. XLIII. 8.

⁴⁾ GRUEBER I. 449 n. 3648; III Pl. XLVI. 9—10.

⁵⁾ GOETHERT: p. 34 ff.

⁶⁾ BERNOULLI II. 1. Pl. 32. 14.

⁷⁾ STEININGER: p. 8 ff.

⁸⁾ GRUEBER I. 434, 435; III. Pl. XLIV. 20, 21, 22.

⁹⁾ L'ORANGE in R. M. 1929 p. 167 ff.

first century B.C. So this coiffure probably marks the transition. Consequently the tomb-stones yet to be discussed, on which a woman with a "loop" or "roll" appears, can, according to this criterion, be dated at least from 70 B.C.

Having thus removed the obstacles created by incorrect dating of objective criteria, we now proceed to an attempt at the dating of our group. As has already been said, about 90 B.C. the ancestral portrait ceased to consist of a death mask, though these were still often made. In the period after 90 moreover many old death masks were replaced by portraits of more modern form. Therefore, though before 90 the commission to make a portrait from a death mask may have occasionally occurred, it is only after 90 that we can expect the problem of making in these circumstances a portrait which should in no wise differ from one taken from the living model, to be tackled with any conscious labour. Consequently it is also only after that date that there will be any influence of the local element on members of the other groups, the more so as about 90 — as already pointed out — the three groups begin to converge towards their final amalgamation. The examples of portraits made from death masks, which have come down to us, enable us to trace the development after 90 B.C., while a few earlier heads give us some notion of the manner in which death mask portraits, if they occasionally occurred, were made before that time.

Head A, hardly more than a copy from a death mask, without any trace of working up, which we have already discussed as the oldest specimen of our group, belongs without any doubt to the period before 90 B.C. of which the year 150 B.C. is naturally the *terminus ante quem non*.

So does head B which shows only the first stage in the working up of the death mask: the open eyes. The fact that it was found at the very beginning of the Via Appia also points with great probability to such an early date.

Though head C is of extremely good quality, it also can hardly be called more than a worked-up death mask; for only the most necessary features, mouth and eyes, have been worked up and are still apart, as it were, from the rest of the face. The extraordinary effect achieved by this very fact, must not make us forget the absolute lack of unity in this portrait which, we again repeat, simply consists of a copy from a death mask of which two features have been worked up. So this head too has

certainly to be put before 90 B.C., though probably towards the end of that period.

A further stage of development is represented by head *D*. Here for the first time we see the problem seriously tackled. And the artist has really achieved a certain unity in this portrait though it still differs very considerably from that of a living person. The execution too still in accordance with old indigenous tradition, suggests that it has to be dated not far from 90 B.C.

Though head *E* is still very near to *D*, yet a certain progress is noticeable as the unity grows more harmonious and as this portrait comes nearer to that of a living person. Also its execution, for instance in the rendering of the hair, is more modern. So we may date this head somewhat later than the preceding one.

Still more progress has been made in head *F* where for the first time the reclining position of the head as still seen so clearly in *D* and *E*, has been abandoned. This portrait is still that of a dead man, but here this is no longer striking at first sight. The problem of abolishing the difference between portraits from a death mask and those from a living model has nearly been solved.

The solution is almost perfect in head *J*, which gives quite the impression of the portrait of a living man. The appearance of a strong hellenic influence shows that at the time of its origin the mutual influence of the groups had become more intense. So from that time we can also look for the influence of the local element on members of the other groups. From the hellenic group the head of a *togatus* in the action of sacrificing in the Vatican Museum ¹⁾ shows most resemblance to this head. As the toga is exceedingly long, this statue cannot be dated before 70 B.C. Within its own group its head can be best compared with that of the Delian statue, now in the National Museum of Athens ²⁾, as well for the form of the skull as for the pronounced folds round the mouth. As for this statue the *terminus post quem non* is the year 69 B.C., we are inclined to date the Vatican *togatus* near this date, consequently between 70 and 60 B.C. Somewhere within the same decade must be placed our head *J*.

¹⁾ Sala della Biga; HEKLER: Pl. 129c.

²⁾ HEKLER: pl. 127b.

The heads *D*, *E*, *F*, thus fall automatically between the years 90—70 B.C. As regards their mutual relation, *D* must be placed shortly after 90, *F* at the very end of this period: about 70; consequently *E* about 80. As the heads *G*, *H*, and *I* are closely allied to these heads and certainly of older style than head *J*, they too have to be put between 90 and 70 B.C. For even in the best, the terra-cotta head *H* we do not see anything of the liveliness, which KASCHNITZ believes to plead against the use of a death mask; this argument is in any case false since very lively portraits may still have been made from death masks (see head *L*).

A still more perfect solution has been found in head *K*, where a more careful analysis was needed to find again the usual characteristics. Though it must for this reason certainly be later than *J*, the old indigenous way of engraving hair and eyebrows forbids a much later date.

The very last stage of development, where the problem seems hardly any longer to exist is represented by head *L* which even is striking for the vivacity of its expression. There is no longer any question of incongruities; even the usual characteristics are only to be recognized after very careful analysis, as they seem to form part of the personal features of this particular man. CURTIUS' conclusions, referred to above, as to the man's character, clearly testify to this.

This is indeed the very last stage of development for it is evident that henceforth we must not speak of death mask portraits anymore. Even if sometimes a death mask does by chance serve as a model, nothing in the portrait will betray this origin and so it can be neglected by the historian of art as a curiosity of no artistic significance. The refined execution, the delicate treatment of the surface, the almost Augustan form of the skull and the shape of the bust put this portrait into the last decade before the final amalgamation and even towards its very end: towards 40 B.C.

Closely allied to this portrait are some heads, not made from death masks but which show in the bony structure of the face a strong influence from the local element, for instance a head in the Uffizi (Pl. XIXa). This type of head must also be dated at the very end of republican art before the final amalgamation, consequently between 50 and 40 B.C.

To this same period belongs head *M* though, being a

real provincial work, its execution is less refined and its origin is more evident. Especially the form of the skull and the treatment of the hair however forbid an earlier dating.

Though the workmanship of head N might date it as early as 60—50 B.C. — for it comes nearest to head K — the form of the toga worn by its statue makes it impossible to place it before the beginning of the Empire, warning us that even excellent provincial work may still be backward.

Similarly the much damaged head O is dated by the toga of its statue after 65 B.C., while the hairdress of the woman belonging to the same group, makes a much later date improbable; so we may date this portrait about 60 B.C.

When we endeavour to date the portraits on tomb-stones, difficulties of a new kind arise. For the study of the development of tomb-sculpture in our period, very necessary even for the realization of these difficulties, has not yet been begun¹⁾. As we need at least a brief survey, we shall ourselves try to give an outline. Since the oldest tombs were very near the border of the town, consequently in those parts of Rome which were built upon at an early date, only a few monuments of an older period have come down to us. But still here and there statues are to be found in the round or in very high relief, mostly made of limestone, which certainly belonged to sepulchral monuments²⁾; they mostly represent men, sometimes husband and wife. As all the men — save a few exceptions — wear the short toga, these statues must be dated before 90 B.C., at least as to type. Neither this form of tomb-portraiture nor the motives of these statues are specially Roman. For both occur also elsewhere in the Hellenistic world. The type of man with the right hand before the breast in an attitude as well typical for *himation* as for short toga goes back to a type formed at the end of the 4th century B.C. (Sophocles of the Lateran Museum, Aeschines of the Naples Museum)³⁾. Though the *toga exigua* does not differ

¹⁾ HOFMANN in Festschr. SCHUHMACHER 1930 announces a book on this subject. He disappoints us however in advance by stating that the oldest Roman tomb-stone is hardly older than the middle of the 1st. cent. B. C.

²⁾ Examples are to be found on the Via Appia, in the cortile of the Pal. Rospigliosi, in the garden of the Villa Pallavicini, in the garden of Corso d'Italia 35 in Rome, in the cloister of the Roman National Museum etc.

³⁾ COLLIGNON: p. 280 ff.

much from the *himation*, still some adaptation was necessary; in the heads however there is no question of adaptation but of a profound difference. The Roman with his sense of individualization, who has besides the intention of leaving in his tomb-portrait a memento to posterity, could not be satisfied with the idealized heads found elsewhere. So real portraits are made and as the Hellenistic example gives no help, these portraits generally belong to the indigenous group often influenced by the then prevailing realism. Of statues of women Hellenism had also many examples of which the so-called Pudicitia-type, which had arisen at the beginning of the 2nd. century B.C., was mostly followed¹⁾. The costume needed no adaptation at all, the veiled head was even in perfect agreement with the conception of the Roman *matrona*; the personality of women was not yet at that time thought interesting. So the Hellenistic example was taken over without any correction.

Though this type originated and prevailed before 90 B.C. it continued afterwards to occur, so frequently indeed that HORN²⁾ erroneously dates this whole group only from the second quarter of the first century B.C. onwards. The most beautiful examples which have come down to us, the statues of the Via Statilia³⁾, are to be dated in regard to the hairdress of the woman and the delicate execution of her face to the very beginning of this later period, that is to say directly after 90 B.C. The man's head still shows the indigenous type of the former period⁴⁾. This date is in accordance with the man's toga which shows a slight difference from the very shortest type⁵⁾.

A statue in the Palazzo dei Conservatori⁶⁾ and the statues of husband (head O) and wife near the Porta Maggiore, where the woman is no longer veiled, are to be dated some time after 90, as well from a stylistic point of view as in regard to the form of the toga; so also is a threefold group in the Villa Borghese⁷⁾. In

¹⁾ COLLIGNON: p. 289.

²⁾ HORN: p. 81.

³⁾ In the Museo Mussolini Room IV. See COLLINI in Boll. comm. LIV. 1926, p. 177 ff.

⁴⁾ Cfr. HORN: p. 81 n. 5, alinea 1, who gives however without discussion a later date.

⁵⁾ This has been rightly remarked by GOETHERT although with wrong conclusion as to date (o.c. p. 50).

⁶⁾ Museo Mussolini Room I.

⁷⁾ HERBIG in Die Antike 1931 p. 153, fig. 9.

the Tarquinia Museum a tomb-monument is to be seen which represents such a sepulchral monument with statue on a smaller scale ¹⁾.

This form of tomb-portraiture was not the only one known to later Hellenism. In some regions also half-statues occurred of which the woman from Thera ²⁾, now in the Athens Museum, is a good example. Those half-statues showing the same motives as the statues, were probably placed into niches. While DEONNA ³⁾ sees here a symbolic meaning inspired by the representation of chthonic deities, COLLIGNON ⁴⁾ considers them simply as abbreviations of statues to be attributed to local tradition. In this case it is not strange that the Romans with their interest in faces and their neglect of the body made use of this form. The best-known examples, and these of exceptionally pure Hellenistic type, are the half-statues of the Greek freedman and his wife, generally called Cato and Porcia, in the Vatican Museum ⁵⁾. These half-statues generally occur however in a special form, not placed freely in niches, but carved in stone in very high relief. This type seems to have succeeded to that of the tomb-statues as the man generally shows a somewhat larger toga. Moreover the first one that is dated with certainty, that of Septimius in the Copenhagen Museum, is to be placed in the first quarter of the first century B.C., while another in the garden of the Mussolini Museum and one in the Roman National Museum showing a less usual lower relief are dated by L'ORANGE ⁶⁾ in the first decades of the same century. The very simple form of framing is closely bound up with the architectural application of these stones on sepulchral monuments, of which the tomb of the Frontei in the cloister of the Roman National Museum ⁷⁾ gives some idea.

A third form of tomb-portraiture is the bust, being the upper part of the body in *ronde-bosse*, reduced to a simpler form in which the arms are included but not distinguished from the

¹⁾ From Vulci, formerly in the possession of the Marchese Guglielmi of Civitavecchia.

²⁾ COLLIGNON fig. 190; see also BENNDORF in Oest. Jahrb. 1898 p. 1—8.

³⁾ DEONNA in Rev. Arch. 1919 p. 114.

⁴⁾ COLLIGNON: p. 301 ff.; see also BENNDORF: l.c. p. 8.

⁵⁾ Sala dei Busti 388; Cat. Vat. II p. 572, Pl. 65; HEKLER Pl. 162.

⁶⁾ L'ORANGE in R. M. 1929 p. 173/4, fig. 3 & 4.

⁷⁾ PARIBENI n. 444; LANCIANI in Boll. Comm. 1880 p. 142.

body. This form was known in Rome, as is testified by several portraits made of terra-cotta, of which we mention that of a man in the Villa Giulia Museum ¹⁾ and that of a girl in the Vatican Museum ²⁾. Both of them are to be dated before 90 B.C.

In this connection we will concern ourselves only with the second category. These half-statues are generally erroneously called busts; only at the beginning of the Empire they will often be replaced by real busts of typically Roman form. These tomb-stones with half-statues constitute the most usual form of tomb-portraiture from 90 B.C. till the beginning of imperial times (about 30 B.C.); afterwards they only occur occasionally. Two types can be distinguished. The first and obviously older one is generally made of rather coarse material; a man alone or husband and wife are represented, rarely a third person; mostly men and women belong entirely to the indigenous group; the wives are veiled (Pl. XVIIIa). The second type is made of finer material, mostly of marble; many persons (up to five or even seven) are represented; the heads do not show a purely indigenous type; the women, no longer veiled, generally wear the hairdress discussed, of which the "loop" or "roll" is the most characteristic part; nearly all of the many inscriptions which have come down to us mention freedmen (Pl. XVIIIb). In regard to these differences we may date the first type 90—60 B.C., the second 60—20 B.C. In the last part of the second period tomb-stones with real busts also appear (Pl. XVIIIc).

We cannot suppose that in every case in which many persons are represented they all died at the same time. The monument will have been made on the occasion of the death of at least one of them; the others will then either have been still alive or else have died long since. That the Romans did not object to being represented on a tomb-stone during their life is proved by several inscriptions. For instance above the heads of all but one of the figures on a tomb-stone in the Capitoline Museum "*vivit*" has been written ³⁾; the same is to be seen on a tomb-stone in the cloister of St. John Lateran at Rome (Pl. XVIIb), while a tomb-stone in the cloister of the Roman National Museum has been

¹⁾ DELLA SETA: Villa Giulia Pl. XL; R. M. 1926, fig. 9; Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch. III 1925 fig. 10.

²⁾ Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch. III 1925 Pl. XXIV.

³⁾ Cfr. also STUART-JONES: Mus. Cap. Pl. 12, 5.

erected by a woman "*sibi viroque*"¹⁾. The occurrence of the second possibility is proved by the monuments themselves for we often see on tomb-stones clearly belonging to the second period, portraits of a much older style. These can only be explained as copies of older ones, having probably also belonged to a sepulchral monument. It is moreover obvious that as the family grew in prosperity — we have to do with freedmen! — older and coarser monuments, perhaps weatherbeaten, were replaced by modern ones of finer material and more refined workmanship. This makes certainty of dating impossible; for even when the tomb-stone itself can be exactly dated, not so the separate heads; some may be copies of older portraits.

There is further a question of fashion. The freedmen now in their turn grown prosperous and important, naturally wanted to imitate in their portraits the fashion and style seen among their former masters, but they only do so, as generally occurs in such cases, when this fashion and style is about to be discarded by its originators. This inclination is fortified by the old-fashioned leanings common to all tomb-sculpture, which is clearly shown by the indigenous type of the heads on the tomb-stones dated 90—60 B.C. such as is no longer seen in the great portraiture of that period. Therefore here we often see after 60 portraits much more obviously made from death masks, than contemporary Art shows. This kind of portrait is thought so fashionable that even when no death mask has served as a model portraits are made in a similar way. Thus in sepulchral portraiture the influence of the local element is very evident.

Something of the first difficulty has been felt by GOETHERT²⁾ in discussing a tomb-stone in the Roman National Museum on which a married couple and a veiled woman are represented, the latter being a half-figure without arms (Pl. XVIIIb). He explains this figure as an ancestral bust. First of all we have to protest against the word "ancestral" as soon as there is a question of a portrait of a member of the family, who has already died. Further ancestral busts never had this particular form. A careful examination however clearly shows that we have to do with the third type of Hellenistic tomb-portraiture, the Hellenistic bust, elongated by the copying artist in order to match the other figures. So the upper part of the body, copied from the original,

¹⁾ Grande Chiostro Ala III Giardino.

²⁾ GOETHERT: p. 49; PARIBENI: n. 65.

has a schematic form; the lower part, added by the copying artist, has been executed in a naturalistic way on the example of the other figures. With this agrees the idealized purely Hellenistic type of face, which as well as the hairdress points to a date anterior to 90 B.C.

The other example, quoted by GOETHERT¹⁾, shows busts of the usual Roman shape; as they are as late as the period of Trajan, we must not call them ancestral portraits either.

In dating head P, the portrait of Septimius, none of these difficulties occur, as this tomb-stone has only one portrait and that, according to the inscription, of a freeborn man of good standing. According to MESSERSCHMIDT's²⁾ valid argument, this stone has to be dated between 100 and 75 B.C. The contents of the inscription point to a date after 90 B.C.³⁾ So does the form of the figure, a provincial imitation of the incompletely understood half-statues, introduced at that date in Rome. The form of the toga even supposes a date not too near to 90. So does the rather lively expression of the face. Therefore we have to date this portrait at the very end of the period given by MESSERSCHMIDT, that is to say 80—75 B.C. GOETHERT⁴⁾ dates this portrait about 15 B.C.; even by denying its obvious good quality, he cannot account for this dating from a stylistic point of view; he supports this thesis by a wrong interpretation of a wrong reading of a wrong statement by ALTMANN⁵⁾.

The dating of head Q however brings us face to face with the first difficulty mentioned. For on this tomb-stone five persons are represented. The composition clearly marks the young man in the middle as the principal person for whom the monument has been made; he is represented semi-nude according to the fashion which arose in later Augustan times, while in the previous period from 90 B.C. onwards the statues are generally clad in toga, sometimes in military dress. The two portraits on the right, probably of the young man's grand-

¹⁾ GOETHERT: p. 49; PARIBENI: n. 70.

²⁾ MESSERSCHMIDT: p. 20 & 39.

³⁾ MESSERSCHMIDT: p. 39; FRANK in Klio 11. 1911. p. 378.

⁴⁾ GOETHERT: p. 46.

⁵⁾ ALTMANN (p. 198) places this tomb-stone „schwer über die Mitte des ersten Jahrhunderts" (before 50 A. D.); GOETHERT, reading first century B. C., makes the mistake of placing the first half of the first century B. C. from 50—1!

parents, are obviously of an older style. As nothing betrays the working of different hands, we may assume them to be copies of older portraits probably also having belonged to a sepulchral monument. When we compare our head to the series discussed and dated above, we see that it comes nearest to head *J* (70—60). So it may have been made at least from 60. The stiffly arranged "roll" of the woman who shows a purely indigenous type of face, forbids a too early dating. Therefore we are inclined to date the older monument, from which these two portraits have been copied, towards 50 B.C.

We find the same difficulty when we try to date head *R*, the portrait of Vibius. On the same tomb-stone an older woman with veiled head is represented, clearly belonging to the indigenous group; between these two half-statues the bust of a little boy is to be seen. As to the latter, its refined execution and the delicate treatment of its surface clearly point to the Augustan period. With this the style of both the other portraits absolutely disagrees. The boy's bust cannot have been, however, inserted afterwards, as is the case with a child's portrait on a tomb-stone in Torcello and on one in Modena ¹⁾. Besides some small locks on the woman's forehead betray the same delicate and firm hand which made the boy, while the treatment of the old man's hair agrees with that on the back of the boy's head. So all three are the work of the same hand and in the case of the man and woman we have to do again with copies of older portraits. This accounts for many peculiarities in head *R*; for though it bears a close resemblance to head *J*, still many differences, principally in execution, are puzzling e.g. the curious treatment of the sunken cheeks and the wholly impossible mouth. These have to be attributed to the fact that the artist had to work from a portrait, the form of which he no longer understood and which he did not copy exactly but rendered in his own way. So we consider this tomb-stone the sepulchral monument of young Vibius, serving at the same time to replace an old monument to his grandparents probably made towards 50 B.C. This monument is one of a whole series of children's tomb-stones, which became fashionable now that the imperial family had to mourn the death of several of its young children and had inaugurated their cult. Especially on a tomb-stone in the Vatican

¹⁾ POULSEN: *Porträtstudien* Pl. LXII fig. 108.

Museum ¹⁾ the young child is clearly marked as the principal person to whom his parents, probably still living, are offering fruit and flowers.

As head *S* is the portrait of a freedman, we cannot from its style draw too many conclusions about its date. On the same tomb-stone a man, a woman and a boy are represented, all three of them according to the inscription still alive. The style of the woman's face comes near to that of the woman (Roman National Museum) described by L'ORANGE while the loose arrangement of the "loop" points to the beginning of that fashion. The toga's with their small folds are made of finer material, as shown on the coins of about 65. In consideration of all this we date this tomb-stone and consequently head *S* at the very beginning of the second period, about 60.

Head *T*, though of coarser execution, is probably of later date but not after 40. This is suggested by the woman's hair-dress. It must thus be dated between 60 and 40.

The rather delicate treatment of head *U*, made of fine-grained marble, points already towards the imperial period. So does the fact that the half-statue has been replaced by a real bust. It should probably be dated about 30. It is curious to find the old tradition of the death mask recurring even with a free-born craftsman.

Head *V*, the portrait of a freedman, is rather a clumsy version of the type of head which we have dated towards 40. On the same tomb-stone, of which he is clearly the principal person, his probably still living kinsman and colleague shows a decidedly Augustan type. So we may date head *V* too to the beginning of the imperial period.

Head *W* shows a type which is certainly posterior to head *J*. Since the young man on the right is not yet Augustan in type, we may date it between 60 and 40. As next to the portraits tools are represented, this stone belongs to a series of craftsmen's tomb-reliefs showing their tools or scenes from their industry in the manner first seen in the reliefs on the monument of the baker Eurysaces.

Many figures on tomb-stones show a strong influence from the local element, e.g. the Servilii in the Lateran Museum ²⁾,

¹⁾ Museo Chiaramonti Cat. Vat. p. 315, 6a, I Pl. 31.

²⁾ BENNDORF-SCHOENE n. 23 p. 15; ALTMANN fig. 158.

the husband on the stone in the Roman National Museum, already discussed (Pl. XVIIIb), Aedius on his tomb-stone in the Berlin Museum ¹⁾. But as this sepulchral sculpture is only a sidebranch of great portraiture, we have to return to the heads which do not belong to this category, in order to get a clear idea of the influence of the local element in the development of Roman portraiture.

As already stated we can assume from 60 B.C. onwards some influence of the local element on members of the other groups. For the period 50—40 B.C. we could already indicate a group of portraits where this influence was very obvious. In the years 40—30 B.C. the final amalgamation of the three elements takes place: in the heads, typical of this period, all three of them can still be made out.

A head in the Vatican Museum ²⁾ (Pl. XIXb) shows a slight geometrization of the skull as a trace of the indigenous element; this same is still noticeable in ripe Augustan heads. Eyes and mouth and the plastic folds around the latter are clearly of hellenic origin. The local element shows itself in the very obvious bony structure of the head, especially its cheek-bones. This same is to be seen in a similar head in the Vicenza Museum and, in a slightly less degree, in a beautiful head in the Pitti Gallery. A head in the Roman National Museum (Room XXIII) shows again a slightly geometrized skull, some hellenic features and a conspicuous bony structure (Pl. XX). So does a much damaged head in the Uffizi (staircase). In portraits of pure Augustan style traces of the local element can still be made out. Even the heads of the Emperor himself still show the bony structure. This appears very clearly in a small bronze head in the Louvre ³⁾, which is not yet of the ripe Augustan style and must consequently be dated before 30 B.C.; the same conclusion has been reached by GOETHERT who thinks this head akin to tomb-portraiture, probably on account of the very influence of the local element, which leads STUDNICZKA even to doubt its authenticity.

But as we have already said, even when the Augustan style is completely formed, its portraits show clear traces of the local

¹⁾ RODENWALDT: p. 506; SCHRÖDER: p. 6.

²⁾ Mus. Chiaramonti 107. Cat. Vat. p. 376, I Pl. 39.

³⁾ LONGPÉRIER in Soc. Em. de l'Allier T. XI. 1870; DE RIDDER: Cat. Louvre nr. 29; GOETHERT: p. 41; STUDNICZKA in A. B., instalment 101, 1001, p. 8.

element. Immediately afterwards however, these traces entirely disappear, even in very realistic portraits of later times the bony structure of the head is no longer shown in the same way. When at last a homogeneous style is born in Rome, the function of the local element is over.

Since in the above we have sometimes agreed and sometimes disagreed with the views of VAN ESSEN ¹⁾ who has made the first courageous attempt at giving a chronology of Roman republican sculpture, especially of portraiture, we will now say a few words about his opinions as far as they come within the range of our subject.

Though VAN ESSEN entitles his paper "chronology of the Roman sculpture during the Republic", he immediately excludes the works of art made before the last century B. C., as these differ considerably from the style of this period, rightly called the republican style; these earlier works belong according to him to Campanian and Etruscan art. But the fact that they differ from the later ones is no reason to deny their being Roman, and still less is it an excuse for not discussing them, if one intends to give a complete chronology of republican sculpture. As to the style rightly called republican, we have already pointed out the total lack of any homogeneous style in that period, an opinion with which VAN ESSEN seems to agree in the subsequent part of his paper. We have already stated our opinion that the part played by Etruscan art has been much exaggerated of late and we repeat the same view in regard to Campanian art.

In fixing his chronology VAN ESSEN starts from the tomb-stone of Septimius (head P) which he dates from the circumstances of its finding about 80/70 B. C., and from this he derives the style of the period 80—50 B. C. But the fact to which we have drawn attention above, that such a head is dateable only from the consideration of secondary circumstances should make us wary of conclusions drawn from an absolute date thus arrived at. Theoretically Septimius may as well be a typical specimen of the style before 80 as of the subsequent period. So this reasoning is not quite correct. The other portraits, belonging according to VAN ESSEN to this period, are not brought by him into clear connection with the head of Septimius. We will only refer to the head of the Dresden Museum (head C) and to the portrait in the garden of the Vatican. Though the first certainly bears a resemblance, due to their common origin, to the head of Septimius, we had none the less to place it in an earlier period. As to the second one, it certainly does not belong to

¹⁾ VAN ESSEN in Med. N. H. I. 1928 p. 29 ff.

the republican period as is clearly proved by the shape of its bust and corroborated by a closer examination of its style; it bears a close resemblance to a head in the Roman National Museum¹⁾ and both must be placed in the period of Trajan. It is a pity that VAN ESSEN has not published his notes on the occurrence of this shape of bust in the 2nd century B. C.; we cannot now dispute his view but can only express our doubt as to the correctness of his observations. Nor do we understand why this head with its manly features and haircut should be that of a woman; the pronounced Adam's apple especially makes this very improbable.

The *togatus* of the Naples Museum, the so-called Cicero, is clearly marked by the form of its toga as being Augustan; the head is of too bad a workmanship to allow of the drawing of any stylistic conclusions.

We will not concern ourselves with VAN ESSEN's second group which more or less corresponds to our hellenic group. Though the strong influence of Rhodos on the portraits of this group is a very attractive hypothesis, the total lack of Rhodian portraiture (only three uninteresting Hellenistic portraits have been found, one of them with slight Roman influence, now in the Rhodos Museum) makes it improbable.

Naturally we also date the still somewhat hypothetical reconstruction of Caesar's portrait within the years 50/40 B. C., but as none of the existing portraits named after Caesar is either certainly of him or certainly contemporary, we do not think this of much importance.

Of the period 40/30 B. C. the so-called Brutus Minor is considered by VAN ESSEN to be characteristic. The delicate and refined execution, the lack of bony structure and of hard lines and the tendency to idealization point however far into the Augustan period; the treatment of the hair comes near to that of Claudian heads. We must therefore date this head at the end of the Augustan period or even slightly later.

VAN ESSEN concludes that towards 80 B. C. a great revival took place in which two currents can be discerned: one national Italic and the other Asiatic-Greek; towards 50 B. C. a closer fusion is to be seen, ending in the unity formed by Augustan art.

Thus though we often agree with VAN ESSEN's conclusions, we cannot do so with his method of reaching them. In our opinion moreover, though he intends to give a scheme for the dating of republican sculpture, he only succeeds in giving an enumeration of several more or less dated heads. We must therefore refrain from a more explicit discussion and content ourselves with these few remarks.

¹⁾ PARIBENI; n. 738.

CHAPTER VII.

Now that we have traced the development of the local group and have pointed out the influence of the local element in some portraits outside this group and even in Augustan art, we have to realize what ancestral portraiture in general contributed to the formation of Roman portrait-sculpture.

The important part played in Roman life by this ancestral portraiture makes it *a priori* probable that it had a great influence. This has been for a long time assumed. SCHOENE¹⁾ advances the opinion, already previously suggested by VISCONTI²⁾, that the typical Roman shape of bust, hollowed out at the back, was determined by that of the ancestral portraits, as it points to the use of a soft material. To test the correctness of this thesis, we have to trace the origin of the Roman bust, a task which hitherto has not been conclusively achieved. Hellenism knew half-statues and the form of tomb-bust already discussed, both of which we find in Rome³⁾. The Roman bust however has nothing to do with these; it is not purely in the round, for it gives a part of the breast and is hollowed out at the back. BIENKOWSKI⁴⁾ has pointed out how during the Empire the Roman bust showed a tendency to increase; his assertion however that it originated from a contraction of the herm-bust under the influence of the old Etruscan head-with-neck seems highly improbable. Moreover all indications are lacking; the busts of the transition period

¹⁾ SCHOENE in Bull. Inst. 1866, p. 99; see also BENNDORF—SCHOENE: p. 208/209.

²⁾ VISCONTI: VI p. X.

³⁾ The herm-bust, an abbreviated herm, probably only originated under the influence of the frequent use of the Roman bust; this question, which lies however outside the range of our subject, has not yet been treated.

⁴⁾ BIENKOWSKI in Rev. Arch. 1895 II p. 293.; see also HEKLER in Oest. Jhrh. 1922—1924 p. 186—192.

as surmised by BIENKOWSKI, do not exist in reality. The origin has to be sought elsewhere. At least since the IIIrd century B.C. there existed in Italy an indigenous form of bust, consisting of a head and a geometrized neck, the same to which BIENKOWSKI refers. A large number of votive heads, made of terra-cotta, testify to this form, while in the Tarquinia Museum a stone head-with-neck is to be seen, placed on a plinth with inscription¹⁾. It is so obvious that as bearer of the head, the centre of interest, the more or less geometrized form of the human neck should be used that KASCHNITZ²⁾ explanation that this form derives from the lids of canopics, really seems very far-fetched. For a long time it was not developed any further. For before 90 B.C., according to PLINIUS, in the *atrium* only the ancestral portraits in the form of masks were to be seen. In public, statues and equestrian statues were erected. For sepulchral portraiture either a statue was used or, in simpler monuments, a Hellenistic tomb-bust. Thus the indigenous bust was confined to votive portraiture for popular use which feebly reflected great Art but was not able itself to create new forms. But towards 90 B.C., as we have seen, conditions changed. The increasing luxury in the fitting out of the house and the spreading of the fashion of having one's portrait made during one's life-time gave rise to a new need and demanded a form of portrait, serviceable for domestic use. Then from the indigenous proto-bust the Roman bust developed. We will not discuss here which, if any, outside influences contributed; the main point is that there is only a question of a natural development of an old form from the moment that general attention was directed to it.

Involuntarily we have already illustrated this evolution in discussing the representations of waxen ancestral busts. But in ordinary portraiture also this development might easily be traced and so a new objective criterion might be found. As it lies outside the range of our subject, we will only refer to the oldest shape known to us, as shown in the woman's portrait in the Roman National Museum, discussed by L'ORANGE³⁾. He erroneously considers it a head to be inserted in a statue; for its form is very little appropriate to this purpose, and further this

1) R.M. 1926, fig. 18. Dedalo 1927/28 I p. 11.

2) KASCHNITZ in Rend. Pont. III 1925 p. 341.

3) L'ORANGE in R.M. 1929 p. 2 ff., pl. I.

practice is not acknowledged in Rome for such an early period¹⁾.

The portrait from Ostia²⁾ in the same museum which, as already pointed out, shows such a close stylistic resemblance, has exactly the same shape of bust (Pl. IIb). L'ORANGE attributes the woman's head to the beginning of the last century B.C. and probably before the dictatorship of Sulla. So we may date both these heads shortly after 90 B.C. As they show a small and hence a very old shape of bust, this corroborates our opinion that the Roman bust was born about 90 B.C.

SCHOENE³⁾ has rightly observed that the curious hollowed-out shape of the Roman bust points to the original use of a soft material; so we have another typical instance of the Italic disregard of the nature of the material used. His hypothesis that this shape would derive from the waxen ancestral portraits is thus very attractive at first sight. But it lies in the nature of the latter to be traditional and we cannot suppose them to give the lead to new forms. Besides which they only took the form of bust on the example of the portraits of the living and so followed the shape of the latter. The representations of ancestral busts which have come down to us, corroborate this opinion, as they certainly show a more old-fashioned shape than contemporary marble portraiture. Another soft material frequently used in this period is terra-cotta; though in bigger heads, made of this material, a hollowed-out shape was desirable for technical reasons, the low esteem in which it was held in this period, makes any strong influence from this side highly improbable. This shape was however absolutely necessitated by the technical process of bronze-casting as usual in antiquity. And bronze was the most habitual material about 90 B.C., though the scarceness of the evidence which has come down to us, often makes us forget this important fact; for only from that date onwards the use of marble, either imported from Greece or later on taken from Italian quarries, became more frequent. Therefore it is obvious that bronze was the material which determined the shape

1) We do not know any example before the Augustan period. Outside Rome we find it applied in Magnesia (see WATZINGER p. 198, fig. 198) in the first part of the first century B. C. (Horn p. 77); see also WATZINGER p. 201, fig. 201. Both examples show a shape wholly different from that of our woman's bust.

2) PARIBENI: n. 764; HEKLER Pl. 139.

3) SCHOENE l.c.

of the Roman bust; HELBIG ¹⁾ already pointed to this possibility. So the typical hollowed-out shape of the Roman bust has nothing to do with ancestral portraiture.

The influence of the ancestral portrait and its shrine has been seen, by ALTMANN ²⁾ and others after him, in *sepulchral sculpture*, first of all in the placing of the so-called bust, in reality a half-statue, within a frame. We have already given another explanation of this form. The same influence is seen in the loose coordination of portraits inside the same frame. Again wrongly; for the most typical feature of the use of the shrine, as striking both POLYBIUS and PLINIUS, was that the ancestral portraits were placed into separate shrines. The loose coordination of portraits is the most practical way to show all of them clearly; as the tomb-stone was only meant to be a monument and document, no thought whatever was given to composition. Even the replacing of the half-statues by busts, as recorded above, has rather to be attributed to the general fashion of busts than to ancestral portraiture in particular. In later *aediculae* also this influence has been unjustifiably traced. For ALTMANN ³⁾ has already pointed out that when later on the tomb-stone was no longer architecturally applied but erected to stand free, its niche was finished off at the top. The tomb-stones grow into *aediculae* of which Hellenism had many examples. The Roman forms of *aedicula* thus ultimately derive from Hellenistic models. At best in the predilection for this form of tomb-stone a weak influence of ancestral portraits and their shrines might be detected and even that is highly hypothetical. We have already discussed the tomb of the Haterii and have pointed out that there too reminiscence of the old shrines is at least unnecessary. So in this field likewise ancestral portraiture has had hardly any influence.

Nowadays a deeper and subtler influence is sought, not concerning any outward form but determining an essential feature of Roman art. It is thus believed that ancestral portraiture is the source of Roman portrait-art. This view too is wrong. For, as we have seen, in Italy a great interest in the physiognomy of the individual and thence in portraiture has always existed and as Roman art is in the first place Italic, we cannot be surprised to find this same

¹⁾ HELBIG: *Camp. Wandm.* p. 41.

²⁾ ALTMANN: p. 197.

³⁾ ALTMANN: p. 200.

predilection recurring in Rome. Nay, we may even say that without this interest the ancestral portrait would never have assumed so important a place in Roman life and that it would certainly never have taken the important step from a more or less naturalistic funeral mask to a cast death mask.

And it is only in this form that its real influence on Roman art sets in, as already pointed out by KASCHNITZ and by ANTI ¹⁾. Both these authors have recently tried to define the influence of ancestral portraiture. In so doing KASCHNITZ is hampered by an erroneous conception of the latter; he gathers various more or less fantastic views into an attractive though still improbable ensemble — over which, unknown to him, the ghosts of VISCONTI and QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY ²⁾ are hovering — trying to explain it by modern psychology. In this way he makes out that the "dualism between reality and significance" there appearing is the characteristic of Roman art which announces the dawning of new times; he forgets however that this so-called dualism — which is tantamount to the belief in magical powers — is a characteristic of every primitive mentality as well of peoples as of children.

ANTI confines his attention to the ancestral portrait in the form of a death mask, which form he assumes to begin only in the second century B.C., a conclusion to which we too have come in a wholly different way. We do not however understand why this really not very complicated process — especially for people familiar with terra-cotta plastic — that had been known moreover for a long time in the Hellenistic world, had to be imported from Egypt ³⁾. This does not seem very probable; and no support for this hypothesis is forthcoming. ANTI quotes the Campanian head of the Boston Museum; in the first place it is not made from a death mask as we have already said; secondly it can certainly not be dated before the last century B.C. Nor have we been able to detect the origin from a death mask in so many heads of Isis-priests, only in fact in one and that of a Roman (head F).

In his brilliant paper on Etruscan and early-Roman portraiture KASCHNITZ ⁴⁾ distinguishes three groups: one Italic-

¹⁾ KASCHNITZ in *R. M.* 1926 p. 193; ANTI in *Stud. Etr.* 1930 p. 151.

²⁾ See APPENDIX.

³⁾ ANTI o.c. p. 165/6.

⁴⁾ KASCHNITZ in *R. M.* 1926 p. 133 ff.

Etruscan, one Hellenistic-Etruscan and a third, which in the second century B.C. takes up the other two and gradually grows into Roman art, showing itself in the portraiture of the last century B.C. This third group, according to him, shows the early-Roman realism, only to be explained by the influence of the waxen mask portraits. This realism he calls elsewhere verism of which term he gives a definition ¹⁾. This very definition from the outset shows the superfluity of the new term which indicates an extreme realism and is for the rest a purely artificial construction. In practice this term generally refers to the elaborate representation of every small particularity and only those portraits are called "veristic" which show an almost exaggerated amount of details such as wrinkles, folds, pimples, etc. ANTI also attributes the so-called verism to the influence of ancestral portraiture. It is generally assumed that the usage of these waxen death masks gave birth to the typical realism of Roman portraiture ²⁾.

All this is a big misapprehension and even in most cases a double one. First it consists in the wrong opinion that a death mask is *per se* a so-called veristic portrait. Repeatedly the occurrence of small wrinkles and folds and other details is attributed to the use of a death mask as model, while on the contrary, as we have seen, after death details are smoothed away. Death masks hardly ever show anything of the elaborate realism called verism. So they can hardly lead to verism either.

Secondly it is based on the view that realism is typical of Roman art: an incorrect conception. Even KASCHNITZ still more or less professes this opinion; ANTI alone expressly rejects it. We repeat that Roman art is only the concentration of Italic art, that the Roman sense of form does not differ essentially from the Italic. In our description of the latter we have mentioned concise characterization with concentration of expression and neglect or subordination of secondary parts, never realism. But no art, as no living being, stands still; it evolves and passes through various stages. To these phases, which occur again and again in different ages and among different peoples, terms are applied such as naturalism, realism, baroque. The value of such names is only relative for their significance is always limited by

¹⁾ KASCHNITZ o.c. p. 179, n. 1.

²⁾ Cfr. however SIEVEKING in Munch. Jhrb. 1928.

the sense of form of the people among whom and the period in which they occur. The art of the abstracting Egyptians as well as that of the idealizing Greeks knew a period of realism; the mystic Gothic and the heroic Renaissance also passed through this phase. Realism is only the expression of a mentality which mostly shows itself in rationalism — within certain limits too — in the domain of religion and philosophy. It is thus of a temporary nature. This mentality had come in Italy — under circumstances which we discussed above — at the moment when Rome was the leading centre of its art which, naturally, now became realistic. The consolidation by Augustus brings about a new state of mind which puts an end to realism. The latter will only be seen recurring for a short time in the Flavian and Trajanic periods.

We still cling so closely in our aesthetic conceptions to the schooling and tradition of the Renaissance and to its notion of the relation between nature and art ¹⁾, that Roman realism seems to us realism *par excellence*, as it is nearest akin to that of the Renaissance. In the same way the realistic productions of Roman art, easiest to understand, have been for long considered its most typical achievement. The existing preconception that Roman art is characterized by realism has led to the abuse of this term — analysis sharp as that applied by ANTI to the Vitellius portrait would considerably diminish the number of "realistic" portraits! — and all works of art which did not conform, have been looked upon as Etruscan, Greek or Byzantine. Even the recent interest in very early and very late Italic portraiture has not yet succeeded in destroying this false view.

Another confusion of ideas is apparent in spite of thick veils of modern philosophy in a recent article published under the name of KASCHNITZ ²⁾. Its title is: "From the magic realism of the Roman Republic to the art of Constantine the Great". The very first words already imply *contradictio in terminis*. For, as we have already said, realism only appears when all traces of magic have disappeared. When there is still a question of magic,

¹⁾ Cfr. DVORAK: p. 45.

²⁾ *Formes* VIII Oct. 1930 p. 6 sq. DR. KASCHNITZ informed us personally that this article, owing to inadequate translation, does not give correct expression to his opinions. Our remarks are therefore not directed against DR. KASCHNITZ, but against the article published in "Formes".

a portrait, the intention of which is clearly indicated, entirely suffices; a realistic, elaborate one is simply superfluous and consequently is not made. Realism is mostly closely bound up with rationalism, never with belief in magical powers. As to the following part which deals with the mask portrait by which the author probably means the death mask itself, but perhaps the portrait made from it, we shall refrain from discussion and confine ourselves to some questions immediately arising from it.

How can an important original creation of art — and that their only one, poor Romans! — testify to the inability of artistic creation? Why do the real tendencies of Roman art consist in directly copying the forms while the author himself shows us so convincingly the close affinity between early indigenous and late Roman art, being both "cubistic" and averse from reality? The realistic individualism of Roman art seems to come to the same thing as the previous magic realism, also called religious realism; at least it is also of magic origin — a most exceptional origin for any individualism. Which are the forms appearing for the first time in the portraits of Alexander Severus, which are connected with the tradition of the ancient mask portrait? Why is it exceptional that the ancestral portrait had the mission to render completely the features of the ancestor; is not that generally the mission of portraits? Why should it, without religious thought, be banal if it was a good portrait? Why are modern death masks in themselves banal any more than let us say a house or a table? Why have "all those" who study late-Roman portraits the strange idea that the latter's stereometric structure, which seems to us the very contrast to realism, is grafted into the tradition of the magic realism of Roman art? For the rest we prefer — also as regards the new theory about the three elements of Roman art and their dates — to hold to KASCHNITZ' previous views, directly expressed by himself without the confusing intermediary of an inadequate translation.

But even if the ancestral portrait did not give rise to the Roman shape of bust, nor determine a typical form of sepulchral sculpture, even if it did not give birth to Roman portraiture in general or to Roman realism in particular, the ancestral portrait in the form of a death mask still had an important function in the formation of Roman art. In a time of rising realism, closely bound up with the rationalism of the second century B. C.,

in a period in which the artist wanted to emulate Nature herself, the death mask lent him strong support. For it was believed to betray Nature's secrets so completely that the latter could now easily be mastered. One little step further, another grain of self-confidence and the firm belief is born that Nature's work could be perfectly reproduced, that one could indeed attain her level, if only outward form were copied as exactly as possible. This mentality will bring about as well portraits of extreme realism (so-called verism) as the practice of making moulds on the actual features; both originating from the proud and naive faith in human power to equal Nature herself simply by copying the outward form of her manifestation. Hence we shall see here and elsewhere death masks and realistic portraiture appearing at the same time, the latter not as a consequence of the first, but both as expressions of the same mentality.

The support, lent by the death mask, was not a vague and immaterial one. For it really did help the artist to draw near to Nature and this it achieved by teaching him the construction of the face. Italic art had till now geometrized its heads and had only rendered the principal features, a procedure for which no exact knowledge was needed. Hellenic art had mainly occupied itself with the surface of the head and had reached an unsurpassable virtuosity in the rendering of the nimble movements of supple muscles. Now for the first time attention was turned to the artful composition of the bony structure. For by the decaying of the flesh and the muscles' loss of elasticity the death mask had pointed emphatically to the fixed points of the bones of forehead and nose, of cheek and jaw. The face, always the centre of the Italic interest, now really had no more secrets. Now for the first time the head is constructed from within and is created by the artist as by Nature herself.

But when the death mask had taught all it had to teach, its part was finished. In reality it may still occur but as an artistic function it has ceased to exist. In Augustan art its influence is still clearly visible, afterwards no more. As we have already said, even in later realistic portraits these traces are no longer visible. Still the knowledge, taught by it, was not lost so soon. For ultimately it is the influence of the local element that brings about a characteristic feature of Roman portraiture — a feature

which though not, as WEICKERT ¹⁾ himself believes, the expression of a fundamental idea, still holds for a long time — "die Konstruktion von innen heraus im Gegensatz zum griechischen Zusammenschluss von aussen gesehener Formen".

¹⁾ WEICKERT in Muench. Jahrb. 1925, p. 38.

CHAPTER VIII.

Thus on the important question of the relation between the death mask and realism we may conclude first that realism gave birth to the death mask and secondly that the latter in its turn lent strong support to rising realism. Circumstances have never again allowed the death mask to occupy a place as great as it held in Rome or to play anywhere such an important part in the development of art. Nevertheless a contact can at other times be observed between the death mask and art. It is interesting to note that the two facts of the conclusion drawn above can both, though separately, be illustrated in far more modern times. A tendency usually limited to art again affects ritual at the end of the XIIIth century in France; the support lent by the death mask to rising realism recurs in XVth century Florence.

At the court of the French kings we find, till far into the XVIIth century, a funeral ceremonial which recalls in many respects the Roman one. The similarity consists principally of the custom of a long lying in state and of the use of a funeral effigy, so closely connected with it. We even see the reappearance of the waxen death mask. The effigy of Charles IX (1575) was waited upon at table as if it were the living king; similarly that of Pertinax had been protected from flies by a page fanning it with a peacock's feather, as if it were the emperor himself fast asleep. At the funeral of the murdered Dukes de Guise three effigies of each were to be seen as at the death of Augustus; one of them represented the murdered victim with all his wounds just as was to be seen at Caesar's funeral. But notwithstanding these striking conformities we must not think there is any direct connection. For — as we have already pointed out — the custom of exposing the dead is of a practical nature and therefore may arise spontaneously whenever circumstances make it necessary. Since its possibilities are limited it will always pass through analogous phases of development.

It is still unknown how and when this custom originated in France. Certainly we may go back as far as the beginning of

the XIIIth century. For the first information does not date — as SCHLOSSER believes — from the second part of the XIVth century but from as early as 1225. We find a payment recorded in that year "pour avoir lignée et representacion de son mary après la mort d'icellui"¹⁾. A glance at the funeral customs of the English court, so close in its entire etiquette to the French, corroborates our opinion. At the funeral of Henry II (1189) the king was carried to burial in royal apparel lying on a bier with his face uncovered. This seems to be a novel fact at least announcing the use of a funeral effigy. Such an effigy was certainly used at the funeral of Henry III (1272), the body of whom was said to shine out with greater splendour when dead than it had done before when living. The solution of this mysterious information is to be found in a Patent Roll of Edward I (Jan. 1275/6) which records a sum payed for "cere ad faciendam unam ymaginem" and one "pro factura dicte ymaginis". The use of wax points to a realistic tendency and therefore suggests an advanced stage in the evolution of this custom.

From the above we may certainly assume that the use of a funeral effigy was known in France during the XIIIth century, but we must not — with SCHLOSSER²⁾ — draw this conclusion from the fact that we have evidence of a death mask of that period. For the death mask is not the "nucleus of the matter" (SCHLOSSER) but appears only in an advanced stage of development, — and even that not of necessity, witness the English effigies³⁾. This phase seems to have been reached in France in the later part of the XIIIth century. For though this fact does not as yet appear from texts, it is clear from monumental evidence.

Curiously enough these oldest monuments are not to be found in France but in Italy. During the difficult journey through Italy made under the guidance of Charles of Anjou for the purpose of bringing the bodies of St. Louis and his son from Tunis to France, the young queen of France, Isabella of Aragon, died at Cosenza (1272). A grandiose sepulchral monument was

¹⁾ For this and other texts quoted in this chapter see GAY, SCHLOSSER in Wiener Jhb. 1911 and HOPE in Archaeologia 1907.

²⁾ SCHLOSSER o.c. p. 191.

³⁾ Only the funeral effigy of HENRY VII (1509), probably the work of an Italian artist, was apparently made from a death mask.

erected in the cathedral of that city¹⁾. This tomb, clearly of French workmanship, consists of a sort of sculptured triptych; in the centre stands the Virgin with the Child, on the right kneels king Philippe-le-Hardi and on the left Isabella herself. The face of the kneeling queen is simply a death mask, without even a trace of working up²⁾. The eyes are closed, the mouth is painfully drawn awry, the chin is elongated and the left cheek swollen; the entire face is moreover very mask-like. The fact that the process of making a death mask was applied even under such extraordinary circumstances, suggests that it had already been known for some time.

A second monument is the tomb of Robert of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily but member of the French royal family and a grandson of the Charles of Anjou mentioned above (church of S. Chiara, Naples). The king is represented twice, one figure sitting dressed in royal apparel, the other lying on the death bed. The faces of both portraits unmistakably show all the characteristics of a death mask: only the eyes of the sitting figure are opened (Pl. XXIa, b, c).

The use of death masks which we have already traced in the XIIIth century, is confirmed by texts throughout the XVth. The codicil of the Duke of Orléans "que la ressemblance de son visage et de ses mains soit sur sa tombe en guise de mort" most probably alludes to it (1403). On the death of Charles VI (1422) the court painter is "chargé de mettre en coyleur le chief et visage d'iceluy moulé et faire sur son propre visage et après le vif le plus proprement que on a peu"; the text speaks of it as of an established custom. Henceforth the taking of the death mask was always to remain the task of the court painter. After the death of Louis XII (1515) a sum is payed to the painter Jean Perréal "pour avoir lui faict . . . le visage dudit feu Roy après du vif, et un perruque selon la sienne". Concerning the effigy of François I an explicit account has come down to us handed in by François Clouet "commandé de moller et prendre le traict du visage affin de faire l'effigye"; we see separate items for the making of "le creux dudit visage", for wax and oil, for hairs for the face and scalp. This image afterwards aroused the enthusiasm of the Italian tourist CARDANUS³⁾ who gives its exact description and explains the process of its making.

¹⁾ BERTAUX in G. B. A. 1898 I.

²⁾ SCHLOSSER o.c. fig. 6.

³⁾ CARDANUS: Subtiles Inventiones I, 17, fol. 321v^o.

None of these death masks or effigies have come down to us. Previously preserved in the abbey of St. Denis which had a right to all that belonged to the kings' funeral apparel, they were ruthlessly destroyed during the French revolution. Only a terracotta cast or copy of the death mask of Henry II (1559) which shows clear traces of the king's painful agony, has recently been found in the vicinity of that abbey.

During the same period in which the use of a death mask is for the first time evident, we find in the art of portraiture the first traces of the realism which — though always limited within the bounds of Gothic sense of form — was to create such masterpieces throughout the XIVth century ¹⁾. This simultaneity is so striking that MÂLE ²⁾ sees in the "invention" of the taking of moulds from the actual features one of the principal causes of the then rising realism; somewhat too simplistic a view to which SCHLOSSER rightly objects. For here again it is a question of two co-ordinate consequences of one and the same mentality.

The new mentality to which both were due, clearly appears in the tomb-sculpture of that period in which the change in religious as well in artistic conceptions is very evident. Towards 1200 the custom had arisen of placing on the tombs reclining statues of the dead, called *gisants*. It would be interesting to trace if and how any connection exists between this custom and that of exposing the dead; this question however lies outside the range of our subject. These statues first represented the deceased not as he actually appeared after death but as he hoped and trusted to be on the day of Judgment. This same sublime faith is apparent in the pure and happy expression of all the equally youthful and equally beautiful faces which have lost every trace of individuality. But towards the end of the XIIIth century the period of transcendental and mystic faith had passed; the eyes of the faithful were lowered from Heaven to Earth and now saw reality in stead of visions. Interest turned from the heavenly Future to the wordly Present. Not how the dead would perhaps appear one day but how they had actually been in life was considered important. More or less exact likeness was now wanted in sepulchral sculpture. This tendency even penetrated into the official art of the royal tombs of St. Denis; the tomb-

¹⁾ See COURAJOD: II p. 99 ff.

²⁾ MÂLE: p. 421 ff.

portrait of Philippe-le-Hardi, the husband of Queen Isabella (1298, † 1283), clearly testifies to it. These changes also gave rise to new demands in regard to the funeral effigy of the king to whom interest was now attached not only as such but also as an individual personality. As the last consequence of this demand for exact likeness the death mask, taken from the actual features, made its appearance.

The new mentality which manifested itself in the gorgeous display of art and science in the Florentine Quattrocento and the circumstances which brought it about, have been so often and so amply discussed that we need not dwell on this point. Here again we see rationalism and realism appearing at the same time. We may also expect the practice of taking moulds from the actual features to appear. And not in vain; for at the beginning of the XVth or the close of the preceding century CENNINI ¹⁾, though still belonging to the old school, gave explicit instructions as to the taking of moulds from the face and limbs. He only speaks of those of living people but the first evidence of death masks appeared soon afterwards.

For the beautiful portrait on the tomb-stone of Lionardo Dati (church of S. Maria Novella), executed by Ghiberti, certainly had a death mask as a model; this is apparent notwithstanding the skilfully turned position and the excellent execution of the head (1423). The same origin is even more obvious in the portrait on a tomb-stone in the church of S. Jacopo in Campo Corbolino (Pl. XXI*d*, e) as moreover the realism of the face is in striking contrast to the traditional and schematic rendering of the hands and body (1428). In the same period has probably to be dated the tomb-portrait which lies on the cover of a sarcophagus, obviously constructed much earlier, in the church of S. Maria Maggiore (Florence). Here again we see an interesting individual face but schematic hands and body; this is the more obvious as these are very clumsily executed while the exceedingly bad transition from the face to the back of the head — always a difficulty in death mask portraits — also testifies to the artist's lack of skill.

From a slightly later period some actual death masks have come down to us. The death mask of S. Bernardino of Sienna (1444) is to be seen in the Aquila Museum, that of Brunelleschi

¹⁾ CENNINI: cap. 181—186.

(1446) in the Cathedral Museum at Florence, that of S. Antonino (1459) is preserved in the convent of S. Marco at Florence. By this time, the second half of the XVth century, the practice of making death masks became general. For VASARI¹⁾ tells us that in the days of Andrea del Verrocchio the custom began of moulding the head of those who died; thus in every house at Florence an endless number of such portraits were to be seen, so well made and natural that they seemed to be alive. We see here a clear sign of the naive and proud faith to equal Nature herself by copying exactly outward form, faith which gave birth to the many extremely realistic portraits of that period among which we mention the portrait of Francesco Sassetti by Antonio Rossellino and that of Pietro Mellini by Benedetto da Maiano (National Museum, Florence).

Beside these, death mask portraits now also appeared outside sepulchral sculpture. The terra-cotta portrait shield in the Louvre of which COURAJOD²⁾ mentions a counterpart at London, shows hardly more than a copy of a death mask; even the eyes are still closed. The badly damaged terra-cotta bust of S. Antonino in the convent of S. Marco and the vividly painted one in the church of S. Maria Novella are typical death mask portraits. Several portraits are evidently made from the death mask of S. Bernardino³⁾. The wooden figure of the saint by Lorenzo Vecchietta (1475) also betrays this origin; the wonderful bronze tomb-portrait of Mariano Sozzino by the same artist is also clearly worked from a death mask. So is the terra-cotta bust of Luca Pitti which SCHLOSSER mentions in the Pitti Gallery.

The tendency to make the death mask casts, placed in the house, appear as portraits of living people also manifested itself in the execution of death mask portraits. When we place the Paris and London portraits mentioned above at the beginning of the development, its brilliant end is represented by the most life like portrait of the Renaissance which is believed to represent Niccolò da Uzzano. Notwithstanding its brilliant workmanship and vivid expression it still betrays its origin by the sunken

¹⁾ VASARI: Andrea del Verrocchio.

VASARI does not, as is generally believed, credit Andrea with the invention of this process but merely states that he was one of the first to practise that use.

²⁾ COURAJOD in Bull. Soc. Ant. 1882, p. 163.

³⁾ See BENKARD: p. 6.

temples and cheeks, protruding cheek-bones, sharp jaws, deep-set eyes, sharp bridge and fallen-in tip of the nose and elongated upper lip. Its resemblance to the Roman bust in the Uffizi (Pl. XIXa), which leads STUDNICZKA¹⁾ to believe it to be a portrait of Cicero, is due to this very origin, the effect of which is similar to that produced upon the Roman bust by the influence of the local element (Pl. XXII).

Outside Florence we only find death mask portraits when a strong connection with that city existed. The portrait on the tomb-stone of the Florentine painter Fra Angelico in Rome († 1455, church of S. Maria sopra Minerva), probably made by a fellow-countryman, is clearly of death mask origin. The wonderful tomb-portrait of pope Sixtus IV in Rome (now Museo Petriano), for the execution of which Antonio Pollaiuolo was called from Florence, is a typical death mask portrait in spite of its excellent workmanship. The badly damaged portraits on the tomb-stones in the church of S. Maria del Popolo in Rome, entirely decorated by Florentine sculptors, show clear traces either of being made from death masks or of a strong influence from that direction.

For the habit of making death masks and the intensive occupation with the problem to make from them portraits like those of living people were bound to affect Florentine portraiture also outside the group of actual death mask portraits. Naturally this influence was not so powerful as it had at one time been in Rome but still it had great importance during the entire XVth century. After that time death masks may still be made but their artistic function is over. We know that the death mask of Giovanni delle Bande Nere († 1526) — again a Florentine — was sent to Titian as a model²⁾; we may safely assume that

¹⁾ STUDNICZKA: Bildnis Ciceros; in Wölfflin-Festschrift 1924 p. 135. Among various objections against STUDNICZKA's theory (e.g. the material used, the difference from other would-be Roman portraits) the fact stands out that on one of Gozzoli's paintings in the Riccardi-Medici palace the person, represented by this bust, is also to be seen among a group of Florentines. This portrait cannot be copied from the bust — as STUDNICZKA assumes for Altissimo's picture — because the bust did not yet exist when the painting was executed (1459). Even if we assume an improbably early date for the bust, by 1459 a wrong tradition could not as yet have been attached to it.

²⁾ The portrait made from it by Titian's pupil Gian Paolo Pase is now to be seen in the Uffizi; see GRONAU in Rivista d'Arte III 1905 p. 135 ff.

sculptors still made frequent use of death masks in those days but then merely as nowadays a photograph might be used, without any artistic importance. Even when occasionally a death mask portrait appears as for instance in the bust of Torquato Tasso in Rome (S. Onofrio) and that of Fracastoro in Vienna (Hofmuseum), it is an exceptional case quite outside the regular development of the art of portraiture.

But for the XVth century we may call the usage of death masks the local element of Florentine portraiture, the element by which it was differentiated from that of the other Italian centres. For a comparison of the portrait of Innocens VIII (Basilica of St. Peter) made by the Florentine Pollaiuolo, with that of pope Paul II by Dalmata (Museo Petriano), both executed in Rome in the last quarter of the XVth century, brings out the typical feature of Florentine portraiture: the construction from within in contrast to the closed forms seen from the outside, as shown in the art of other Italian centres.

But the austere Romans of the Republic would not have accepted the teachings of the death mask so gladly as did the artistic and keenly interested Florentines, had it not been supported by a powerful moral force based upon religious belief and ancient tradition. As part of mere ceremonial or utterance of whimsical fashion the death mask would not have been able to exercise an important influence in republican Rome; it could only do so because it belonged to the venerable institution of ancestral portraiture. Hence we are justified in considering not the death mask alone but the entire deep-rooted importance of ancestral portraiture in Rome as being the local element of Roman portrait-art.

APPENDIX.

As with regard to the so-called *jus imaginum* we take a wholly different standpoint from any hitherto taken, we must go into this point a little more explicitly. The oldest author, known to us, by whom this question has been treated is ANDREAS ALCIATUS who mentions it casually in his *Parerga juris*, published for the first time in 1536¹⁾. The idea is certainly not older than the 16th century; JULIUS POMPONIUS LAETUS²⁾ does not make any allusion to the *jus imaginum* in the complete enumeration of the privileges of the *aediles curules* and *praetores*. The question is for the first time explicitly treated by CAROLUS SIGONIUS³⁾. As in this author the source is to be found of all wrong opinions expressed by later generations, we will quote him in his own words.

“... qui majorum suorum habuerunt imagines, ii nobiles; qui suas tantum, ii novi; qui nec majorum nec suas, illi demum ignobiles appellati sunt. Ex quo efficitur, *jus imaginum nihil esse aliud, quam jus nobilitatis* Est autem imago ut praeclare libr. VI Polybius, insignis alicuius viri simulacrum oris similitudinem artificiose effectam coloribus, pigmentisque adumbratam referens, quod in insigniori et celebriori domus parte positum ligneo armario includebant. Imaginem autem sui ponere non temere omnibus licuit, sed iis tantum, qui magistratus curules gessissent.”

For this and other points he quotes CICERO (in Verr. II. 5. 14. 36, Pro Rab. Post 7. 16), the well known passage from PLINIUS and other authors. Since SIGONIUS the existence of a *jus imaginum* has never been questioned. His opinions were taken up immediately after him by ROSINUS⁴⁾, GUTHERIUS⁵⁾ and others.

1) ALCIATUS: *Parerga Juris* lib. II, cap. 30.

2) J. POMPONIUS LAETUS: *De sacerdotibus*, etc.

3) SIGONIUS: *De antiquo jure*, etc., lib. II, cap. 20.

4) ROSINUS: lib. I, cap. 19.

5) GUTHERIUS: lib. I, cap. 21.

The important scholar JUSTUS LIPSIUS ¹⁾ in his *Electorum Liber I*, written in 1580, follows SIGONIUS in the main, but he expresses himself very carefully and speaks e.g. of a *jus imaginis ponendae*. But he opens the discussion on an other point, i.e. on the form the *imagines* must have taken and describes the *imago* which curule officials were allowed to display "*expressa corporis effigies humerorum tenus e cera*". The problem of the form taken by the *imagines* however, specially occupied the thoughts of 18th century authors. The *jus imaginum*, based on the holding of curule offices and itself basis of *nobilitas*, would never be doubted. The question whether the *imagines* had the form of waxen busts painted in various colours, of pictures, of heads made of plaster or clay covered with wax or of masks cast from a mould is treated in a very explicit study by EICHSTAEDT ²⁾ who proves that the last opinion is the one to be followed. The most explicit and fantastic descriptions of the appearance of the *imagines* are given by QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY and by VISCONTI ³⁾.

Of the most important authors on the subject during the first half of the 19th century we will only mention BECKER ⁴⁾ who does not add much to the knowledge of the preceding century. He states that the *jus imaginum* is the only privilege that distinguishes the *nobiles* and is given to them by the state; he defines the *jus imaginum* as the right of placing one's own portrait and those of one's ancestors in a certain part of the house and using these on special occasions. This right is also, according to this author, conferred on curule officials.

Of the newer literature we mention in the first place MOMMSEN, who in many respects based his opinion on the works of EICHSTAEDT and of BECKER. According to him ⁵⁾ the *jus imaginum* is "*ein Recht zunächst der patricischen Geschlechter, welches aber dann . . . auch die plebejischen Häuser für sich in Anspruch nahmen, dass in dem Leichenzuge eines jeden von*

¹⁾ JUSTUS LIPSIUS: *Electorum liber I* in Op. omn. ed. Vesaliae 1675 p. 742/45.

²⁾ EICHSTAEDT: *De imaginibus romanorum*. Petropoli 1806. For particulars of this discussion we refer to his work. Of the authors discussed by EICHSTAEDT we will only mention G. E. LESSING: *Ueber die Ahnenbilder der Römer; eine antiquarische Untersuchung*.

³⁾ QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY p. 14, 26 & 37; VISCONTI VI p. X.

⁴⁾ BECKER: *Handbuch* p. 220.

⁵⁾ MOMMSEN: *Röm. St. I*, p. 442—444.

ihnen diejenigen verstorbenen Vorfahren oder Geschlechtsangehörigen, welche Dictatoren, Consuln, Censoren, Prätores, Reiterführer, curulische Aedilen gewesen sind, gleichsam persönlich folgen, vorausgesetzt dass dieselben im Vollbesitz des Bürgerrechtes und der bürgerlichen Ehre bis zum Tode verblieben, auch denselben nicht etwa . . . die vollen Ehrenrechte noch nach ihrem Tode aberkannt worden oder andererseits sie durch Versetzung unter die Götter, seit solche Apotheosen aufgekommen waren, aus der Zahl der Gestorbenen ausgeschieden sind." The authors after MOMMSEN are in this respect strongly under his influence, so in the first place SCHNEIDER/MEYER in P.W. ¹⁾ and HUGO BLUEMNER ²⁾.

In two studies on Roman nobility GELZER ³⁾ rejects the opinion that the notion of nobility either in the Republic or during the Empire has anything to do with public law, or that it is based on the holding of a curule office. But he continues that during the Republic the curule senators principally distinguish themselves from the others by "*das Recht der Söhne, die Wachsmasken der verstorbenen curulischen Magistraten im Leichenzuge aufzuführen und nachher im Atrium aufzustellen.*" Under the Empire too, the curule office without any doubt conferred the *jus imaginum*, according to this author ⁴⁾.

So from the German side the existence of the *jus imaginum* has never been called in question. French authors as COURBAUD in Daremberg-Saglio (i.v. *imago*) and especially a younger author such as HOMO are apparently less under the influence of MOMMSEN, and HOMO ⁵⁾ gives a less improbable definition, the *jus imaginum* being according to him "*le droit d'exhiber en public les images des ancêtres ayant exercé une magistrature curule*". Of a right to carry the *imagines* in funeral processions and to place them in the *atrium*, he does not say a word. The mistakes made and propagated by MOMMSEN are generally to be found in English and American authors. The most recent American author who speaks about *imagines*, Mr. SHOWERMAN ⁶⁾, after giving a description of the taking of a wax

¹⁾ i.v. *Imagines majorum*.

²⁾ BLÜMNER: p. 493 ff.

³⁾ M. GELZER: *Die Nobilität etc.* GELZER in *Hermes* 1915, p. 345 ff.

⁴⁾ GELZER in *Hermes* 1915, p. 407.

⁵⁾ L. HOMO: *Les Institutions politiques etc.* p. 163.

⁶⁾ SHOWERMAN: p. 420.

impression of the face, "the *imago*", states, that "the right of thus displaying *imagines* belongs only to those of curule rank. Cicero acquired it on the day he was elected curule aedile". Did Cicero then acquire the right to display his own death mask in the "family-room"?

A recent Dutch author ¹⁾ writes: "by right the possession of mask-portraits (sic) was a privilege of the nobility of the gown, called *jus imaginum*".

So we see that the traditional opinions on the *jus imaginum* are far from clear. There is no agreement whether it is the foundation of nobility, nor whether it is the right of a curule official to leave his *imago* to his descendants or that of his descendants to show it in public, to carry it along in funeral processions or to place it in the *atrium*. Finally we again draw attention to the fact that the *jus imaginum* is not mentioned in any classic source and that the expression has not a very classic sound.

SIGONIUS does not know the term *jus imaginum*; he speaks of "*jus imaginis*" ²⁾ or more correctly of "*jus ponendarum imaginum*" ³⁾. JUSTUS LIPSIUS too uses a grammatically more correct term "*jus imaginis ponendae*". We found the term "*jus imaginum*" for the first time in ALCIATUS and afterwards in GUTHERIUS ⁴⁾, followed by NIEUPOORT ⁵⁾.

Meanwhile the later authors referred to have not failed to seek for their thesis the support of classic texts. Therefore we will have to submit these texts to a critical discussion. Most authors do not make any difference between the definite statement in scientific works on the one side, and the often figurative expressions of a poet or a satirist on the other. Nor do they consider for a moment whether the author quoted by them has given any proofs of reliability and whether he can be trusted implicitly or if his words are generally to be taken *cum grano salis*. Nor is much attention given to the question whether the author quoted describes matters actually witnessed by himself or only read or heard of. We have pointed out above that there

¹⁾ VAN HOORN: p. 13.

²⁾ SIGONIUS l.c.

³⁾ SIGONIUS: De nom. Rom. cap. VI.

⁴⁾ ALCIATUS l.c.; GUTHERIUS l.c.

⁵⁾ NIEUPOORT: Rituum, qui olim etc. p. 46.

was never any question of a right — one must not even speak of "*reines Gewohnheitsrecht*" as SCHNEIDER does — only of a custom. Most authors do not pay any attention to the historical development which the usage of ancestral portraits like all other earthly things has undergone, forgetting that already PLINIUS writes that the custom was no longer observed in his days. To conclude with MOMMSEN ¹⁾ that the past to which PLINIUS obviously alludes, would only refer to the use of shrines is arbitrary and wrong. In discussing the passage of CICERO from which it appears that he as a curule official acquired the right to display his portrait in public ²⁾, we already pointed to the misapprehension which always translates *imago* as ancestral portrait. By the authors after EICHSTAEDT, and even before him, again and again the mistake is made of translating *imago* as ancestral portrait and even most often as "waxen mask" a translation which PLINIUS' passage "*ut imagines essent*" proves to be quite wrong. We again repeat that *imago* means portrait or portrait-bust, a meaning only exceptionally limited to that of ancestral portrait; the latter can be used metaphorically as "illustrious forefather". If only this is understood, many texts quoted by authors to support their argument will prove to have nothing at all to do with ancestral portraiture. The translation of "*imago*" by "*ancestral portrait*" and even most often by "waxen mask", the neglect of historical development, the application of the same standard to different kinds of authors constitute the principal mistakes which have given birth to current misunderstandings about and around the so-called "*jus imaginum*".

In the following pages we shall follow the annotations of MOMMSEN, in the discussion of which we will refer also to other authors on this subject, principally to MARQUARDT, SCHNEIDER and BLUEMNER.

Rightly from his standpoint MOMMSEN points to the so-called *jus imaginum* as being strictly a gentile right. He adds that, where the proper "*Geschlechtsverband*" failed, the right seems to have been limited to the descendants ³⁾. Such a hypothesis is utterly unfounded; it is based on LIVIUS' statement (I. 34. 6)

¹⁾ MOMMSEN o.c. p. 446 n. 1.

²⁾ CIC. In Verr. II. 5. 14. 36. and Pro Rab. Post. 7. 16.

³⁾ MOMMSEN o.c. p. 443 n. 1.

that Ancus was "*nobilis una imagine Numae*". Naturally LIVIUS who has transposed the conception of his days into the nebulous times of the Roman Kingdom, does not attach a juridical sense to *nobilis*, but only means, that Ancus was ennobled by his one illustrious forefather, Numa ¹⁾).

How little this so-called right had been regulated appears from the circumstance, rightly pointed to by MOMMSEN, that at the funeral of Augustus and Junia there appeared also members of *gentes*, only related by marriage, at that of the older Drusus only legal and natural clansmen. (TAC. Ann. 3. 5 and 4. 9).

MOMMSEN and SCHNEIDER/MEYER in P.W. ²⁾ state that women in marrying brought their ancestral portraits with them. BENNDORF, MARQUARDT, BLUEMNER ³⁾ and others even assert that the moulds of the death masks were kept, from which regularly, for instance on the marriage of female descendants, casts were made. We will refrain from enlarging on the absurdity of practical consequences: there would certainly have been no room in the houses of prominent Romans for such a number of masks. This fantastic statement is believed to be proved by CIC. In Vatin. 11. 28. If however it is born in mind that *imagines* only mean portraits, the whole of MOMMSEN's line of argument is disposed of. In this case the question is only of the portraits of some near relations and further there is no word on their being brought in marriage.

Still another purpose is attributed to the making of casts from the mould. The first, according to BENNDORF, MARQUARDT, SWIFT and BLUEMNER ⁴⁾ must have been burnt with the corpse, a second one must have been put in the *atrium*. About this absolutely nothing is known; from POLYBIUS the contrary might rather be deduced. BLUEMNER further believes that one cast would have been arranged as a theatrical mask; this too without any conclusive argument.

The connection between the curule offices and the so-called

¹⁾ Cfr. TAC. Hist. 39. 14.

²⁾ MOMMSEN: o.c. p. 443 n. 1. SCHNEIDER/MEYER i. v. *Imagines maiorum* p. 1102. 65.

³⁾ BENNDORF p. 76, MARQUARDT p. 242, BLUEMNER p. 494.

⁴⁾ BENNDORF p. 73; MARQUARDT p. 242; SWIFT in Am. J. A. 1923 p. 286 f.; BLUEMNER p. 494.

jus imaginum is based by MOMMSEN, as already by his oldest predecessor SIGONIUS, on CIC. in Verr. II. 5. 14. 36, and CIC. Pro Rab. Post. 7. 16 which we have discussed above. The fundamental mistake consists again in the translation of *imago* by ancestral portrait. He adds a third text quoted in support, viz. CIC. de Leg. Agr. 2. 1. 1. He paraphrases the passage "*ii, qui beneficio vestro imagines familiae consecuti sunt*" as follows: "*die durch eure Wahl für sich dieselben Ehren, wie ihre zum Bildnis gelangten Ahnen, erreicht haben*". Exactly that which MOMMSEN needs in support of his thesis, he himself puts into his interpretation; it is not to be found in the original text. There is no question of *jus imaginum* in this sentence: *imagines* is here metaphorically used — as above pointed out — for illustrious forefathers.

Much importance is attached by MOMMSEN to CIC. ad fam. 9. 21 in which CICERO advises Petus to get the *imagines* of certain persons belonging to his *gens*. For MOMMSEN believes that CICERO tells Petus of which relations he can have a portrait, whereas CICERO explains that Petus wrongly thinks that the *gens* of the Papirii to which he belongs has always been plebeian. Petus is entitled however, according to CICERO, to consider the patrician Papirii mentioned as his ancestors and is advised to have their portraits too. But all the same this text is most important. For, of the relations enumerated by CICERO, the first five are indeed curule officials, the sixth is a *homo valde honoratus*, the others an *aedilicius* and *multi Massones*, of whom no offices are mentioned. So it appears clearly from this text that one could have *imagines* also of those ancestors who had held no curule office at all, but were only, as CICERO puts it, *valde honorati*.

MOMMSEN tries to escape this difficulty he cannot help seeing, by describing the persons mentioned as "*im Allgemeinen also (ist dies) derjenige Kreis, dem die Praetexta und der curulische Sessel zukommen*"; this may in general be true, but what about his own theory of a fixed *jus imaginum*?

As well in his definition quoted as in his commentary MOMMSEN and after him SCHNEIDER in P. W. and BLUEMNER ¹⁾ point to the fact that descendants were only allowed to carry

¹⁾ MOMMSEN: o.c. p. 444 n. 1 & 3; SCHNEIDER l.c. col. 1099. 66; BLUEMNER l.c. p. 494 n. 4.

in procession at funerals the *imagines* of those who had died in full possession of their civic rights and their civil honour, if not deprived of it after death. Further the authors write that the *imagines* of those who are admitted among the Gods, were not allowed to be carried in procession. Our denying the existence of the so-called *jus imaginum* already involves that we cannot either believe in the interdictions attendant upon it, constructed by MOMMSEN. His references are the following; to which we add another one, taken from PLUTARCHUS.

PLUTARCHUS (Caes. 5.) relates that Caesar at the funeral of his aunt Julia, wife of Marius, takes along the εἰκόνες (= *imagines*) of the latter, although Marius and his friends had been declared enemies of the state. Of course the latter implies that his portraits should not be seen in public. We may compare Marius' position in Sulla's days and immediately afterwards to that of Brutus and Cassius during the principate. TACITUS (Ann. 3. 76) narrates, that at the funeral of Junia, widow of Cassius, among the *imagines* carried in procession "*prae-fulgebant Cassius atque Brutus, eo ipso quod effigies eorum non videbantur*", and (Ann. 16. 7) that Nero accuses Cassius Longinus "*quod inter imagines majorum etiam C. Cassii effigiem voluisset, ita inscriptam DUX PARTIUM*". We may only deduce from these two references and from TAC. Ann. 4. 35. that the relations of Brutus and Cassius certainly had the portraits of these murderers of Caesar in their *atrium*, but that they were not shown in public, at least not at the funeral of Junia. We do not know of any positive prohibition, but it is quite natural that during the principate the public display of a portrait of Caesar's murderers was as well untactful as dangerously demonstrative. Among other absurd accusations SUETONIUS also mentions the same accusation made by Nero against the blind scholar Cassius Longinus of having among his ancestral portraits several of C. Cassius (*imagines*). The presence of these portraits proves however that there existed no special prohibition as MOMMSEN and SCHNEIDER believe. That there is again no question of an official death mask, appears from the presence of several portraits of C. Cassius in Cassius Longinus' *atrium*.

Still later on the portraits of Brutus and Cassius and also that of Cato Minor were considered anti-imperial. So PLINIUS MINOR (Ep. I. 17. 1—3) records that Titinius Capito obtained permission of the Emperor to erect in the forum a statue of

L. Silanus but that with great piety he had placed at home, where he was at liberty to do so, the portraits of Brutus, Cassius and Cato: "*Mirum est qua religione, quo studio imagines Brutorum, Cassiorum, Catonum domi ubi potest habeat*". Here we see that, although there is mention of *imagines* placed in the house, no ancestral portraits can be meant. Of course the contrary has been asserted. Here too it is believed that a special prohibition existed to place the portraits mentioned in the *atrium* and it is deduced from this text that they were put in another part of the house, where it was allowed (*ubi potest*). Wrongly too; for this passage has not been considered in connection with the foregoing from which it clearly appears that the contrast is to be found between the placing of portraits in the forum and in the private house.

Nor was there any prohibition against possessing the portraits of condemned persons, indeed even showing them in public. For when Libo was condemned in the reign of Tiberius, Cotta Messalinus thought it necessary to propose in the senate: "*ne imago Libonis exsequias posterorum comitaretur*" (TAC. Ann. 2. 32). This had already been noticed by the 18th century scholar BENEDIKT, quoted by EICHSTAEDT.¹⁾

MOMMSEN²⁾ writes that the *imagines* of those who were admitted among the Gods were not allowed to be carried in funeral processions. But as a general, fixed rule this is wrong, as there are only two instances known and besides in these two cases the *triumviri* (after the death of Caesar; DIO CASS. 47. 19. 2) and the senate (after the death of Augustus; DIO CASS. 56. 46. 4) expressly made a decree to this purpose.

SCHNEIDER/MEYER in P.W.³⁾ deduces from JUV. VIII. 18 that, if a crime is only discovered after the culprit's death, his *imagines* are nevertheless broken. This may certainly have occurred sometimes. But it is absurd to deduce a general rule of law from the stray remark of a satirist.

MOMMSEN and SCHNEIDER/MEYER⁴⁾ think that in some

1) The portrait mentioned by CIC. Pro C. Rab. 9. 24 is not an ancestral portrait nor as H. GROSE HODGE writes in his translation (The Loeb Classical Library) "the cast of a man's face, his death mask".

2) MOMMSEN: o.c. p. 444 n. 3.

3) l.c. col. 1103. 64.

4) MOMMSEN: o.c. p. 428 n. 1, j° p. 430 n. 3; P. W. l.c. col. 1103 61. 1103. 61.

cases the "right" (sic) to open the shrines of the *imagines* was lost. This they conclude from CIC. Pro Sulla 31. 88.: "*si erit vestro iudicio liberatus domus credo erit exornata, aperirentur majorum imagines*", that is to say, if the judges will acquit the accused his house will be decorated and — as another sign of joy — the shrines will be opened. Of a right to open them or an prohibition to do this there is no question at all; as little as we may conclude that there existed a prohibition to decorate one's house if one was not acquitted. We see to what kind of crazy conclusions the turning of such simple customs into rules of law can lead.

Other authors point in connection with the custom of opening the shrines (*imagines aperire*) to a text of the so-called VOPISCUS (In Flor. p. 631), proving according to them that in the days of the Emperor Tacitus or even in the author's days, whenever this may have been, the same wooden shrines with masks were still placed in the atrium. Either we have here an expression that has become proverbial or the portraits in those days really could be covered or closed (may we think of *dypticha*?), but in any case this text must not be mentioned in the same breath with the references of CICERO and SENECA. Certainly it is extremely improbable that it refers to waxen masks in wooden shrines.

MOMMSEN ¹⁾ justly remarks that the *imagines majorum* were placed in the *atrium*. For this thesis conclusive arguments are to be found in classic authors. One must not however go too far. MOMMSEN, MARQUARDT and BLUEMNER point wrongly to VITRUVIUS 6. 3. 6.: "*imagines item alte cum suis ornamentis ad latitudinem alarum sint constitutae*". This advice of VITRUVIUS refers however to the placing of portrait-busts as a decoration in the *alae* of the *atrium*. The authors quoted repeat the old mistake of translating *imagines* as ancestral portraits or even as death masks. From the expression "*cum suis ornamentis*" much has been deduced, for instance it has been considered an allusion to the *tituli* and *stemmata*; but without any reason.

MOMMSEN is of the opinion that the *imagines* were painted, SCHNEIDER that they were painted or made up, SWIFT that they were made of painted or coloured wax. For this support is

¹⁾ MOMMSEN o.c. p. 445 n. 1; P. W. l.c. col. 1100. 63.

sought in POLYBIUS' expression *ὑπογραφή*, wrongly as we pointed out above, and in the text of JUVENALIS (VIII. 2) who speaks of "*pictos vultus majorum*". This "*vultus*" must not be confounded with PLINIUS' *vultus*, face, in contrast to *signa*, sculptures of any form. Here there is a question of *pictos vultus*, (painted faces used as a belittling *pars pro toto*) i.e. of pictures, not of coloured masks, which appears clearly from the following passage. We have already pointed out above that, apart from texts, it is highly probable that the waxen masks and later on the waxen busts were painted or coloured.

In the satire JUVENALIS (VIII. 3) mentions the *stantes in curribus Aemilianos*, rightly recognized by MARQUARDT as paintings. MOMMSEN and SCHNEIDER's conclusion: "*Anstatt dieser Wachsmasken mögen späterhin einzeln, insbesondere bei den vornehmsten Helden des Geschlechts, Bilder in ganzer Figur aufgekommen sein*" is wholly unjustified. Why should there be any connection between those paintings and the waxen masks?

In the same connection SCHNEIDER points to PLINIUS (N. H. 35. 2. 6.) "*imaginum quidem pictura, qua maxime similes in aevum propagabantur figurae, in totum exolevit*", another typical instance of the wrong translation of *imago* by waxen mask. For PLINIUS only refers to the polychromy of portrait-busts as having disappeared in his days.

In seeing an allusion to ancestral portraits in MARTIALIS' *immodicae imagines* (II. 90. 6) and in the *imagines cum suis ornamentis* mentioned above, MOMMSEN makes the wellnigh classic mistake of taking *imagines* for ancestral portraits.

In the same connection we must record that an attempt ¹⁾ has been made to deduce from the *trabeatis proavorum imaginibus*, mentioned by C. SOLLIUS APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS (Epist. 1. 6.), that the waxen masks were draped with material. It is not quite clear what the author, who lived about 475 A.D., meant; of all possible explanations this is certainly the most improbable. We think the reference must be to the marble draped busts, usual from the third century A.D. onwards ²⁾.

MOMMSEN asserts that the shrines of the *imagines* were connected with each other by *stemmata*, an opinion generally

¹⁾ SCHNEIDER in P. W. l.c. col. 1102. 44, a.o.

²⁾ See BIENKOWSKY in Rev. Arch. 1895 p. 295.

assumed before and after him ¹⁾. This too is wrong. PLINIUS, after having said that with the *maiores* waxen *vultus* were to be found and before recording the existence of house-archives, informs us that *stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas* (N. H. 35. 6.); the small word *vero* clearly separates this sentence from the foregoing passage. We can only read in this that there existed pedigrees, as it were illustrated with painted portraits of a small size. Another instance of the confusion of *imagines* and waxen masks. SENECA (de Ben. III. 28) mentions portraits in the *atrium* and *stemmata in prima parte aedium*, i.e. in the vestibule, that is in different places.

From the same text of PLINIUS it is often deduced, that *imagines* (then waxen masks) were painted. Another instance of the old mistake. When SWIFT ²⁾ writes that PLINIUS (N. H. 35. 6) expressly speaks of *cerae pictae* he probably makes a wrong allusion to a wrongly quoted passage.

As to the *tituli*, often discussed, all portraits and statues used to have them, as also probably ancestral portraits. A curious instance of such an inscription is to be found under the portrait of Cassius, mentioned by TACITUS (Ann. 16. 7.): *Dux Partium*. LIVIUS (8. 40) expressly mentions *tituli* of family portraits.

As to the influence of the so-called *jus imaginum* in Roman history, mentioned by MOMMSEN ³⁾, and its special importance in the making of the Lex Canuleia, we cannot even discuss this matter as every probability and every argument in favour of it are lacking. While MOMMSEN states "*dasz das Bildnisrecht und die Nobilität nur insoweit Geltung behielten, als sie aus der Republik herstammten*", GELZER ⁴⁾ asserts "*Es unterliegt wohl keinem Zweifel, dass auch in der Kaiserzeit das curulische Amt das jus imaginum verlieh*". Of the passages quoted in support by the latter, PLIN. Ep. 5. 17. 6, TAC. Ann. 2. 43, SEN. Contr. 2. 1. 17 show that still under the Empire much value was attached to ancestral portraits; of a *jus imaginum* however or even of a connection between ancestral portraits and curule offices absolutely nothing appears. In quoting TAC. Dial. 8 and TAC.

¹⁾ Lastly by VAN HOORN p. 12.

²⁾ SWIFT in Am. J. A. 1923 l.c.

³⁾ MOMMSEN l.c. and MOMMSEN Röm. Gesch. I. p. 287.

⁴⁾ GELZER in Hermes 1915 p. 407.

Hist. 1. 78 GELZER makes the old mistake of the wrong translation of *imagines*.

In reviewing this critical discussion, we see that *imagines* = portraits have been uncritically confused with death masks, waxen masks, waxen busts, marble busts, mask portraits, paintings and statues; further that no difference is made between the old death masks, ancestral portraits in general and funeral effigies. ¹⁾

So SCHNEIDER in P. W. ²⁾ speaks of a waxen "*Gesichtsbild*" of Augustus, where a funeral effigy is meant (DIO CASS. 56. 34). The same author quotes in this connection a text of AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (19. 1. 10), in which the latter records a custom of the Chionitic kings about 360 A. D. (sic!); all this as if as well the waxen mask of former days, as the waxen *εἰκών* of Augustus and the funeral effigy of the crownprince of the Chionites were absolutely one and the same.

So SWIFT ³⁾ after having framed the attractive hypothesis that for the portraits of the Emperors standard models were made, which were sent out into the provinces, asserts that these models were commonly denominated by the term *imagines*, perhaps also by the term *effigies*. While according to this author under the Empire *imago* meant this kind of model, before it meant "the ancestral images of painted or coloured wax". He has not however noticed the proper sense of *imago*: portrait. For the rest he makes every confusion possible in the field of Roman ancestral portraiture and funeral rite. He records without criticism all the hypotheses of a century and more ago (e.g. those of QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY and VISCONTI) which we have not even discussed. He resurrects old confusions between death masks and theatrical ones, relative speculations as to the form of those masks and theses of their having been put on stands draped with material.

CURTIUS ⁴⁾ moreover has recently referred to the influence of the ancestral portrait in a certain period of Roman art as to that of "*clipeatae imagines, den wächsernen Ahnenbildern*".

¹⁾ See also SCHLOSSER in Wiener Jhb. 1911.

²⁾ P. W. l.c. col. 1100. 22.

³⁾ SWIFT l.c.

⁴⁾ CURTIUS in Die Antike 1931 p. 244. BLUEMNER p. 37 makes the same mistake.

Against this we must state that *clipeatae imagines* are nothing else than a certain form of portraits: portrait-shields or portrait-medallions. Of course they can also bear the portrait of an ancestor, as was the case with Appius Claudius and Marcus Aemilius, but this is not implied in the word at all. There are also references to their being made of different kinds of metal (bronze and silver cfr. PLIN. N. H. 35. 4) while several marble *clipeatae imagines* still exist ¹⁾. There is not one mention or instance known of the using of wax for this purpose, a material which would certainly be least of all suited to it.

Therefore — not to speak of other misunderstandings — the main point proved by the careful examination of the texts quoted by different authors, is that the so-called *jus imaginum* is only based on a wrong interpretation of classic authors and a great deal of fancy among modern scholars.

¹⁾ On a tomb-relief in the Vatican Museum (Gall. dei Candelabri no. 185) we see a sculptor actually at work on a *clipeata imago*.

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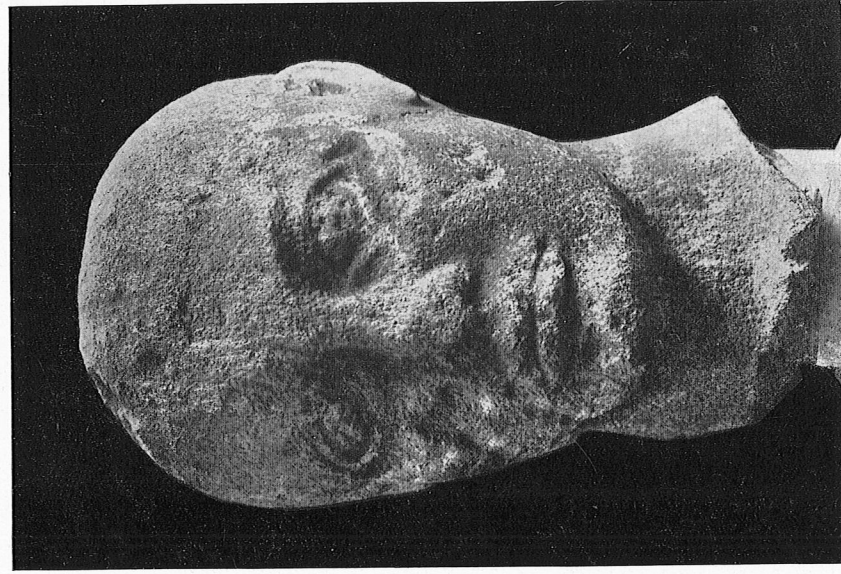
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BEFORE 90 B. C.



a.

Paestrina

INDIGENOUS GROUP

AFTER 90 B. C.



b.

Mussolini Museum
Rome

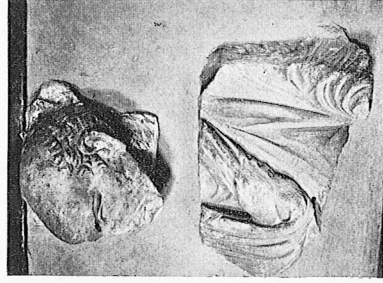
BEFORE 90 B. C.



a. Head of a statue

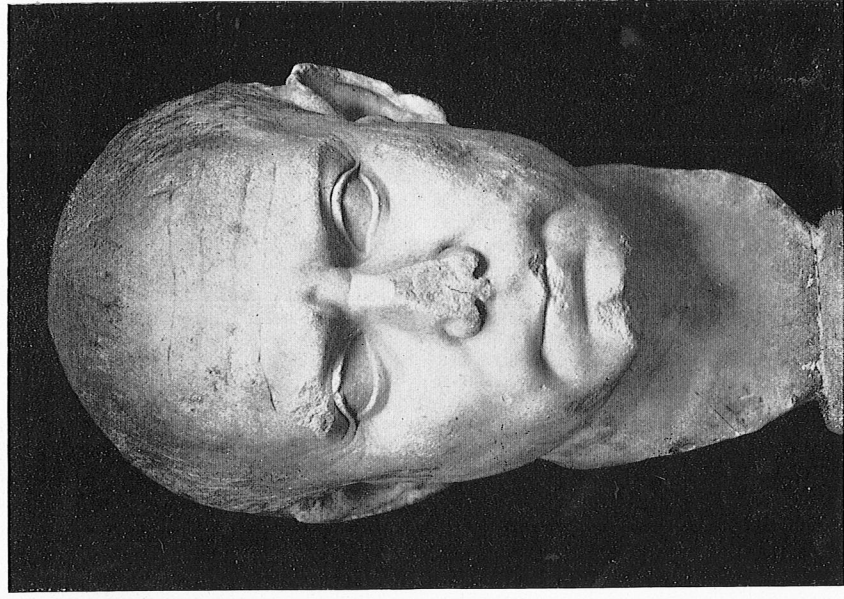
National Museum
Rome

HELLENIC GROUP



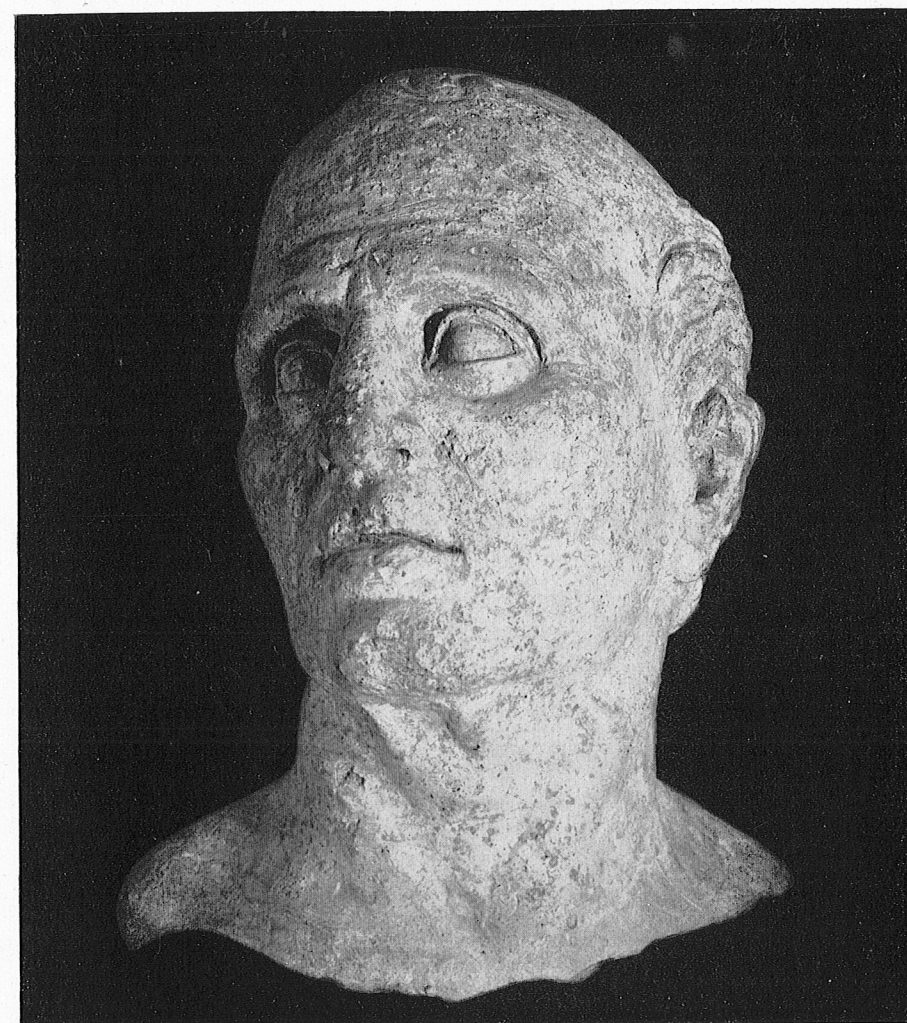
c. Lateran Museum
Rome

AFTER 90 B. C.



b. Head from Ostia

National Museum
Rome

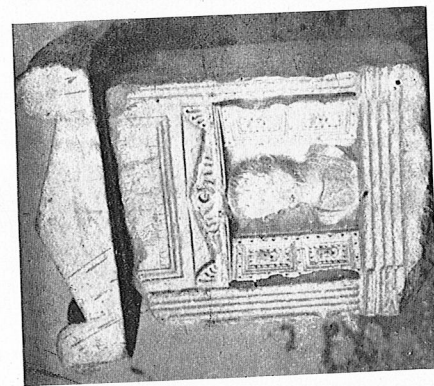


Terra-cotta head

Louvre, Paris
Phot. Archives Photographiques, Paris



National Museum, Copenhagen



Cloister of St. Paul's
Rome

TOMB-STONES
WITH
SHRINES



Via Appia
Rome



a.

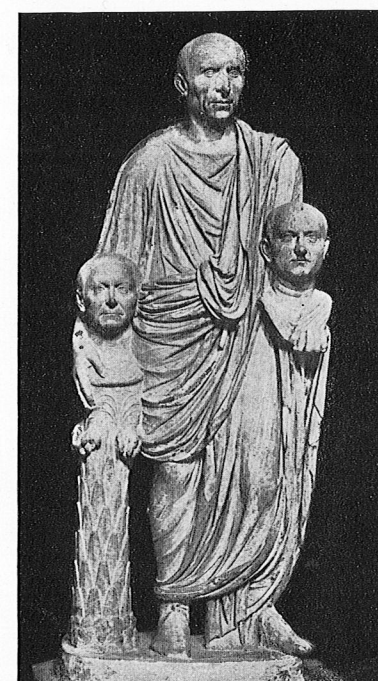


a. Tomb-Stone of
Pacónius, Vatican
Museum, Rome

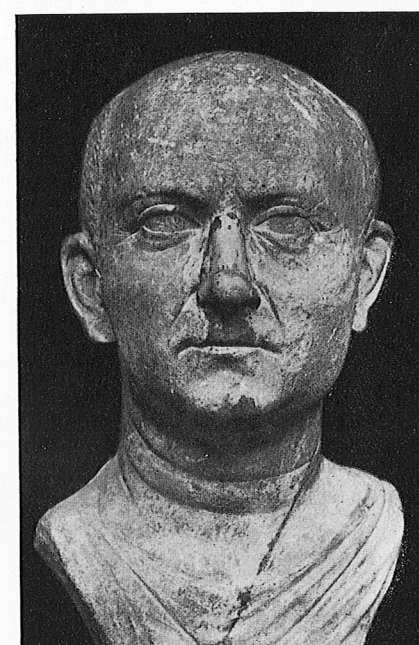
b. Detail of Sarco-
phagus, Vatican
Museum, Rome



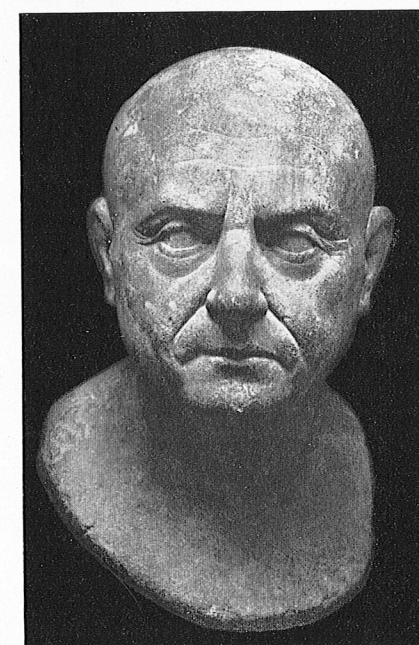
b.



a. Barberini Palace
Rome

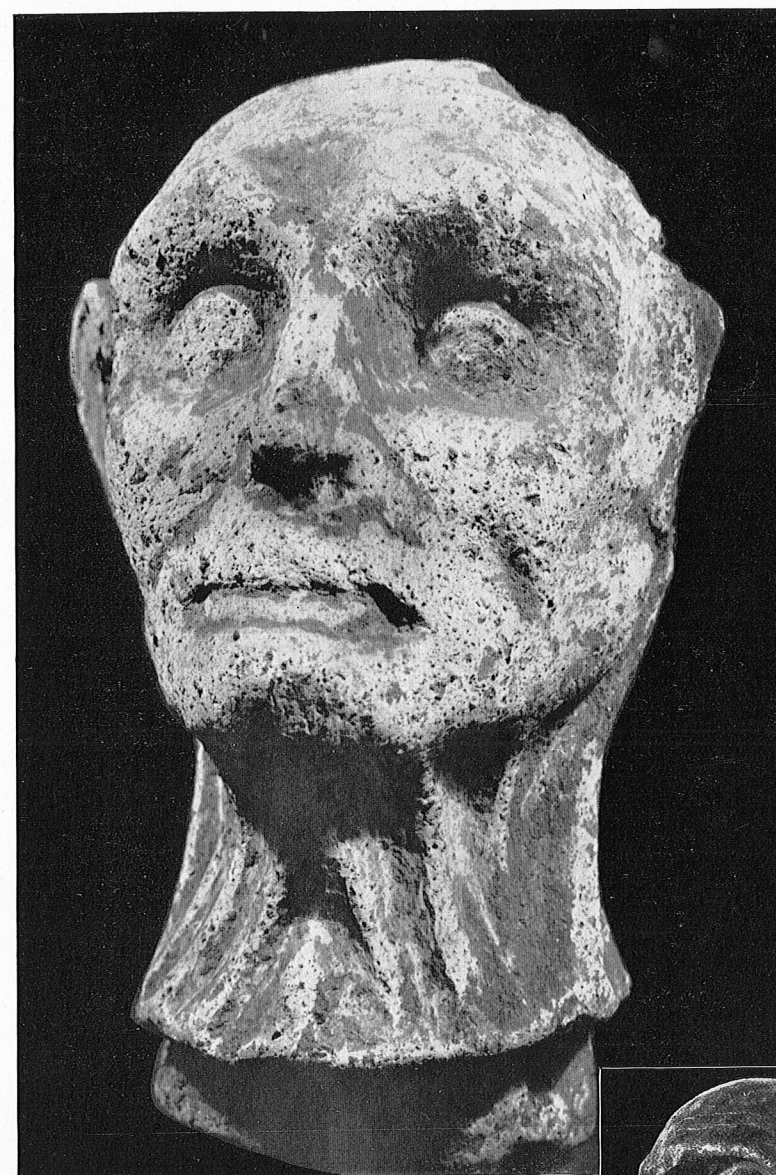


b. Detail of a.

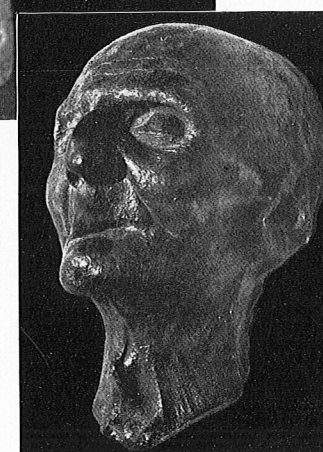


c. Capitoline Museum
Rome

HEAD A

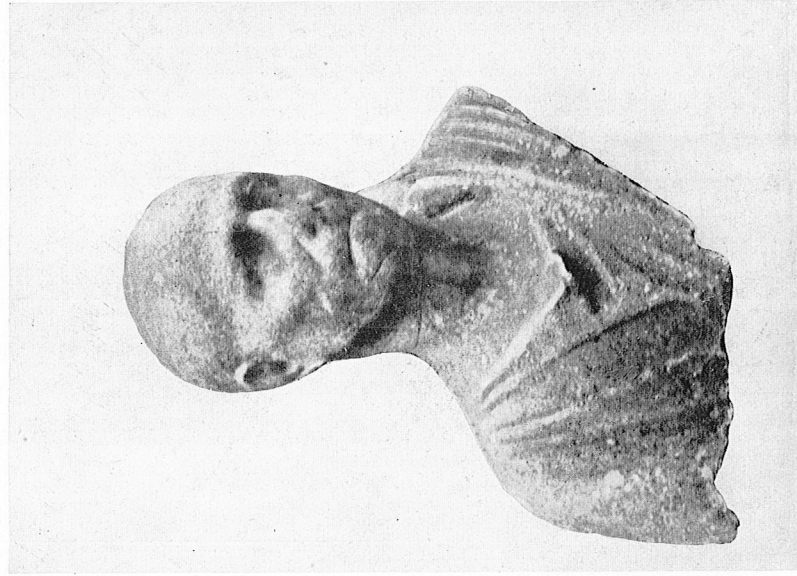


Phot. Archives Photographiques, Paris
Louvre, Paris



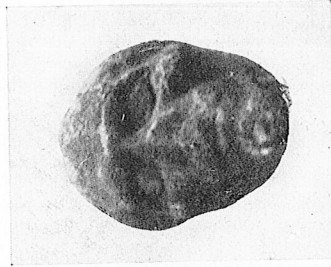
Death mask of
Anton Bruckner

HEAD B



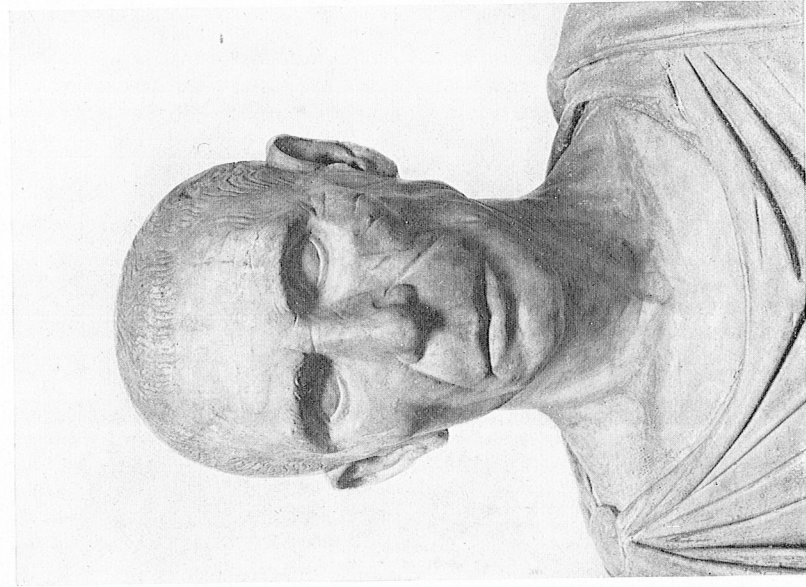
Via Appia, Rome

HEAD B BIS



Via Appia
Rome

HEAD C



Albertinum, Dresden

HEAD D



Copenhagen

a.

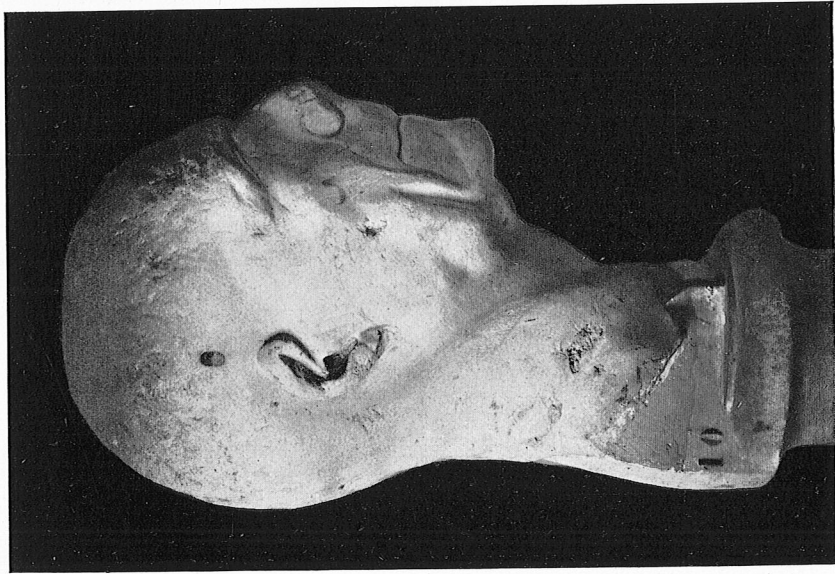
HEAD E



Vatican Museum
Rome

b.

HEAD_F



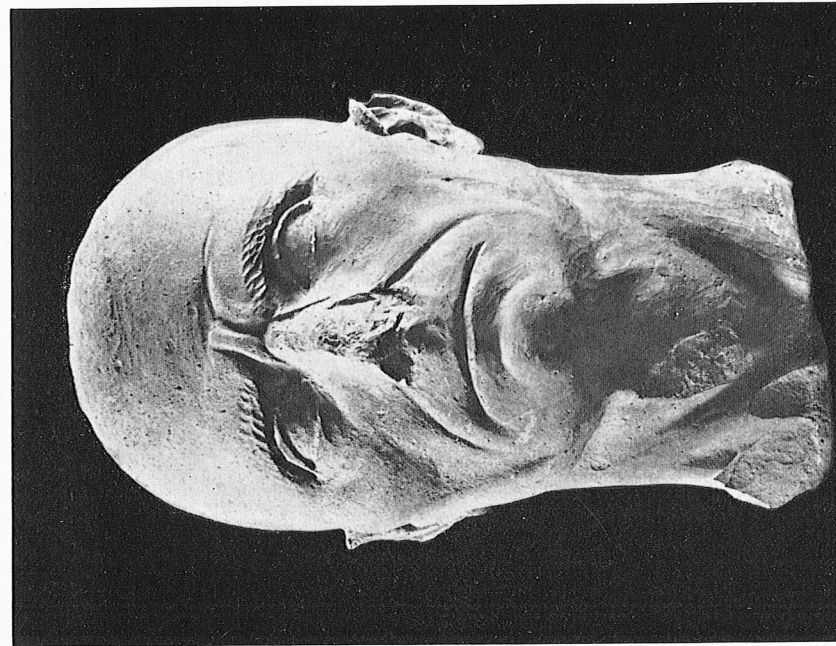
a.
National Museum
Rome

HEAD_G



b.
Archaeological Museum
Florence

HEAD H



a.

Vatican Museum
Rome

HEAD I



b.

Vatican Museum
Rome

HEAD J



a.

Vatican Museum
Rome

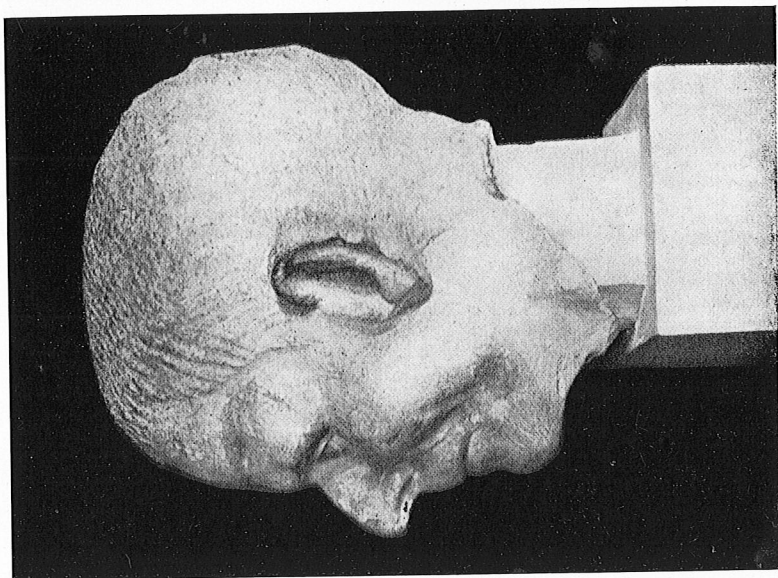
HEAD K



b.

Metropolitan Museum
New York

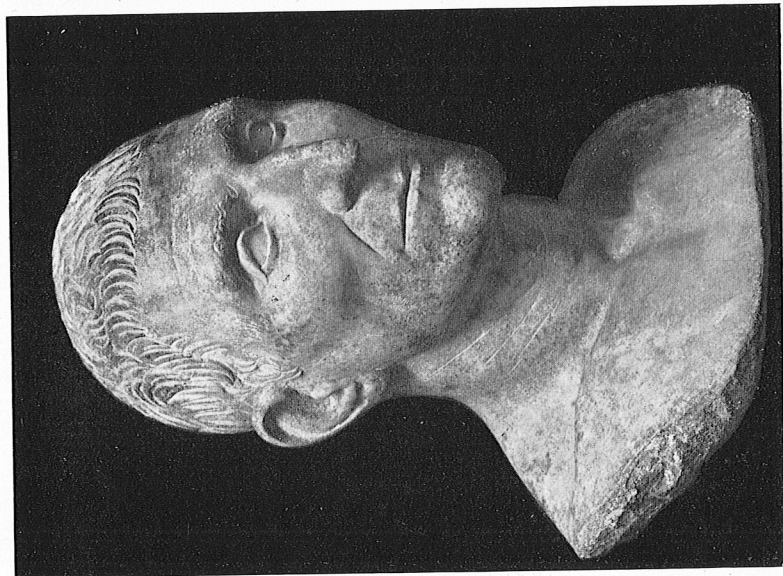
HEAD M



Aquileia

b.

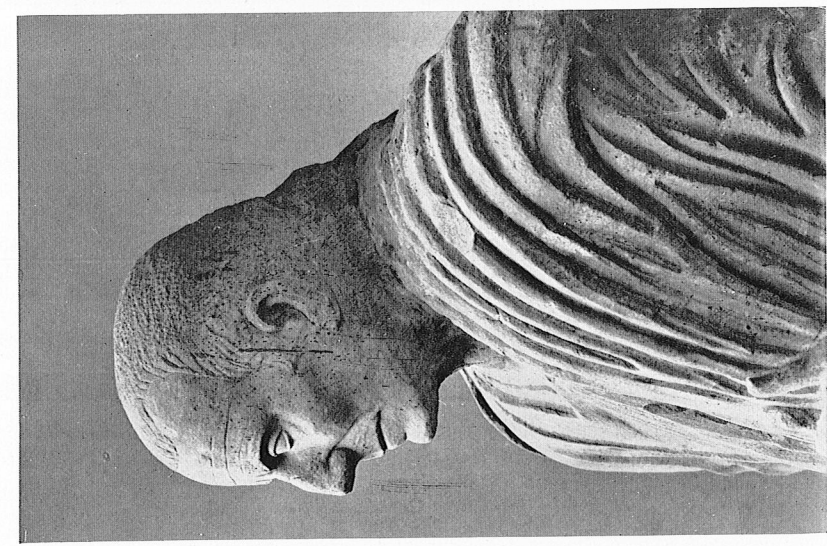
HEAD L



National Museum
Naples

a.

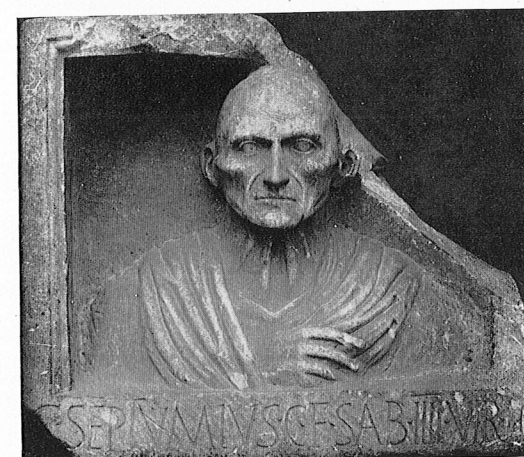
Naples



National Museum

HEAD N

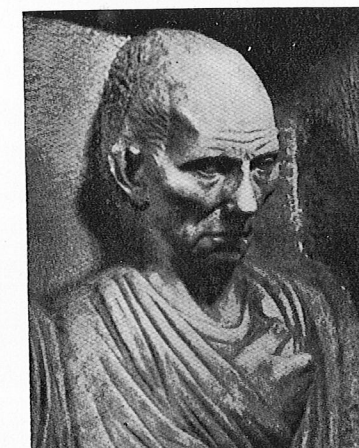
HEAD P



a. "Septimius"

Copenhagen

HEAD Q



c.

Detail of b



b.

Formerly Lansdowne Coll.

HEAD R



a.

Vatican Museum
Rome

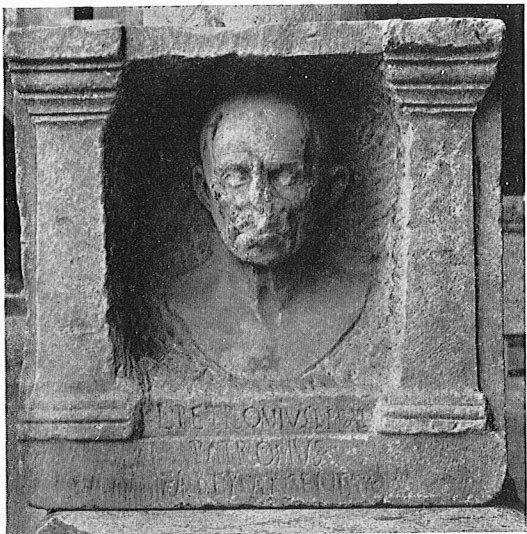
HEAD V



b.

Phot. Archives Photographiques, Paris
Louvre, Paris

HEAD U



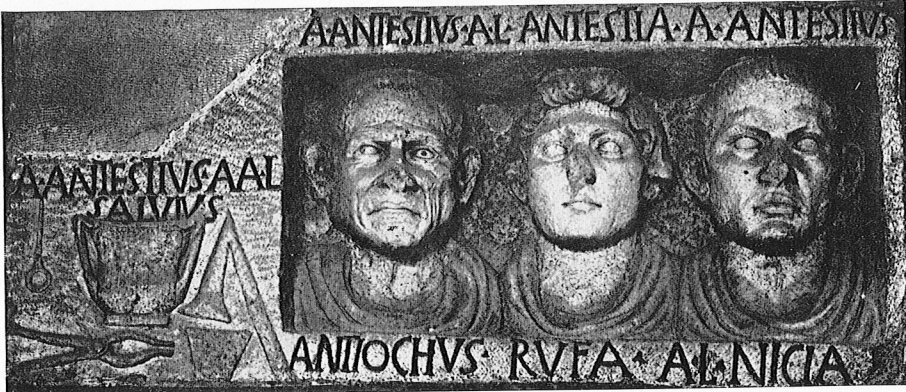
a. "Petronius" National Museum Rome

HEAD S



b. Cloister of St. John Lateran Rome

HEAD W



c. Vatican Museum Rome

90—60 B. C.



a.

Capitoline Museum
Rome

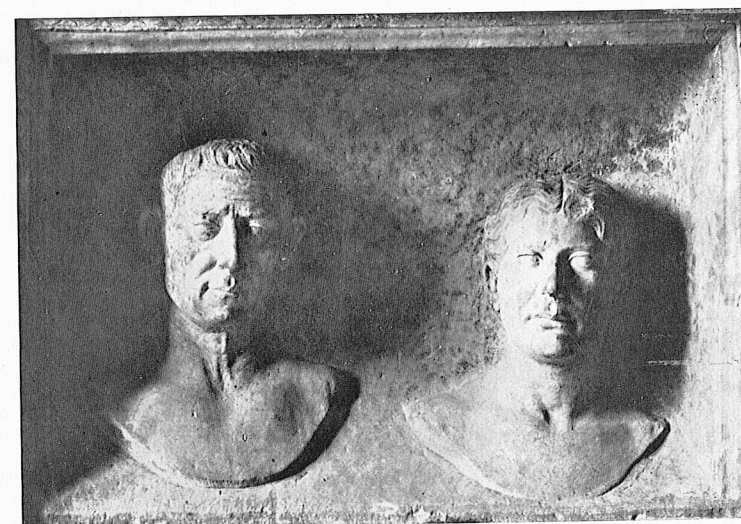
AFTER 60 B. C.



b.

National Museum
Rome

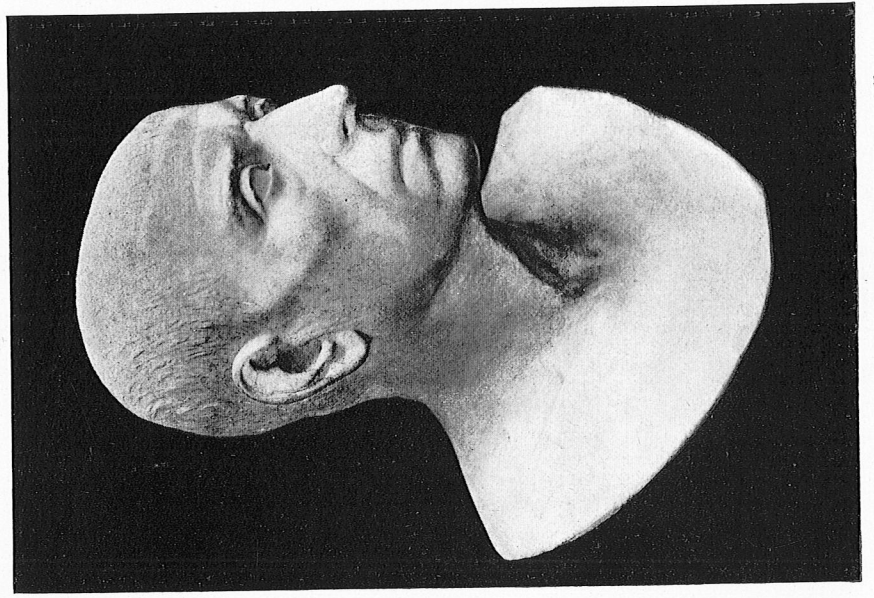
AFTER 30 B. C.



c.

Uffizi Gallery
Florence

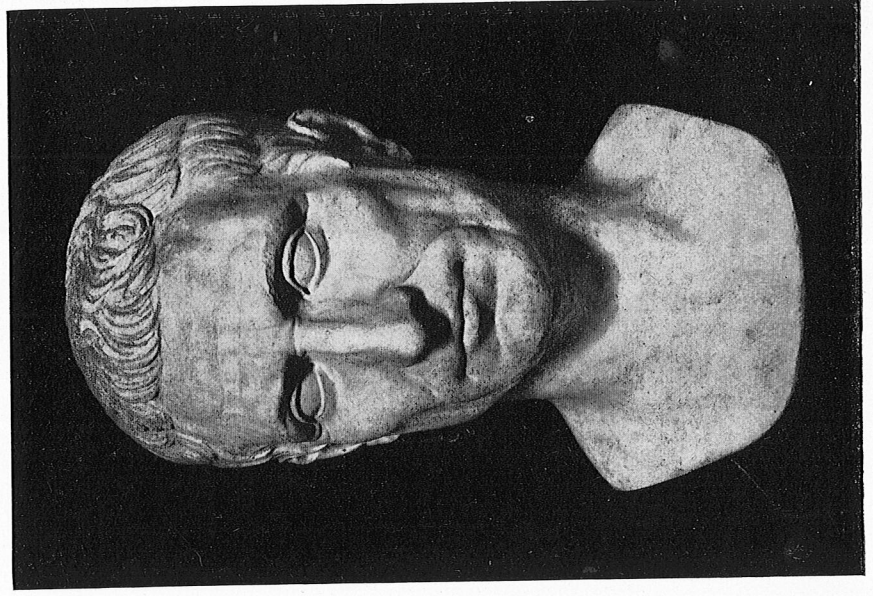
50-40 B. C.



a.

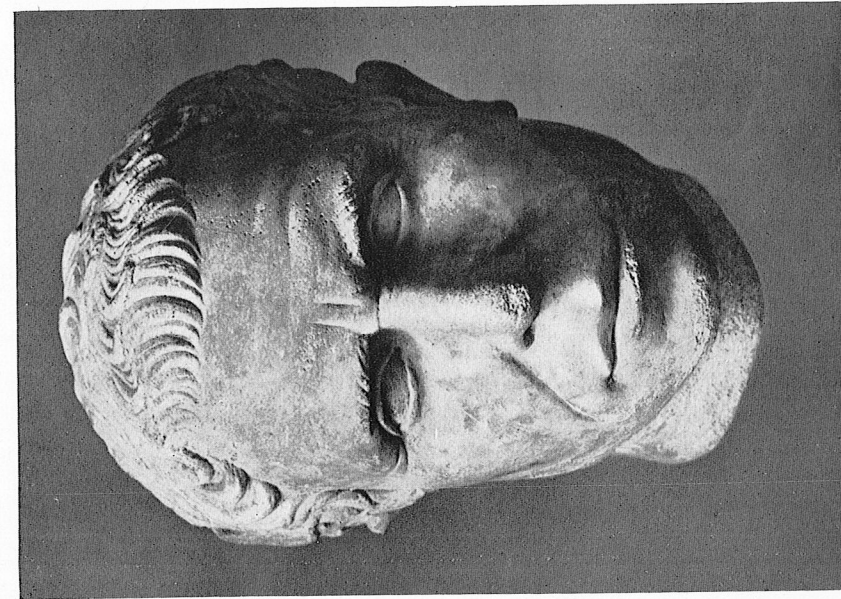
Uffizi Gallery, Florence

40-30, B. C.

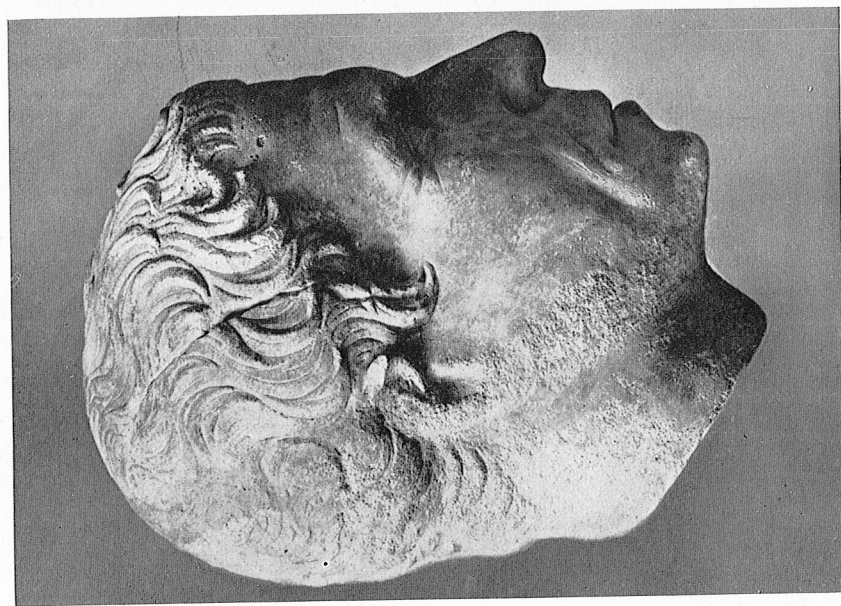


b.

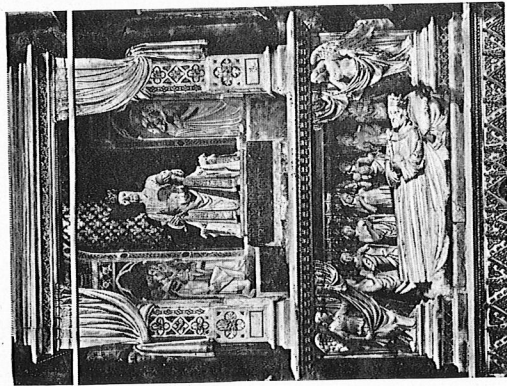
Vatican Museum, Rome



Head from Nemi



National Museum, Rome



a.

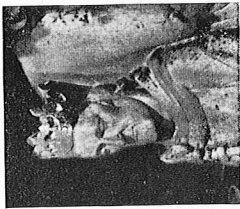


d.

a. Tomb-monument of Robert of Anjou in the church of S. Chiara, Naples
b. and c. Details of a.
d. Tomb-stone in the church of S. Jacopo in Campo Corbolino, Florence
e. Detail of d



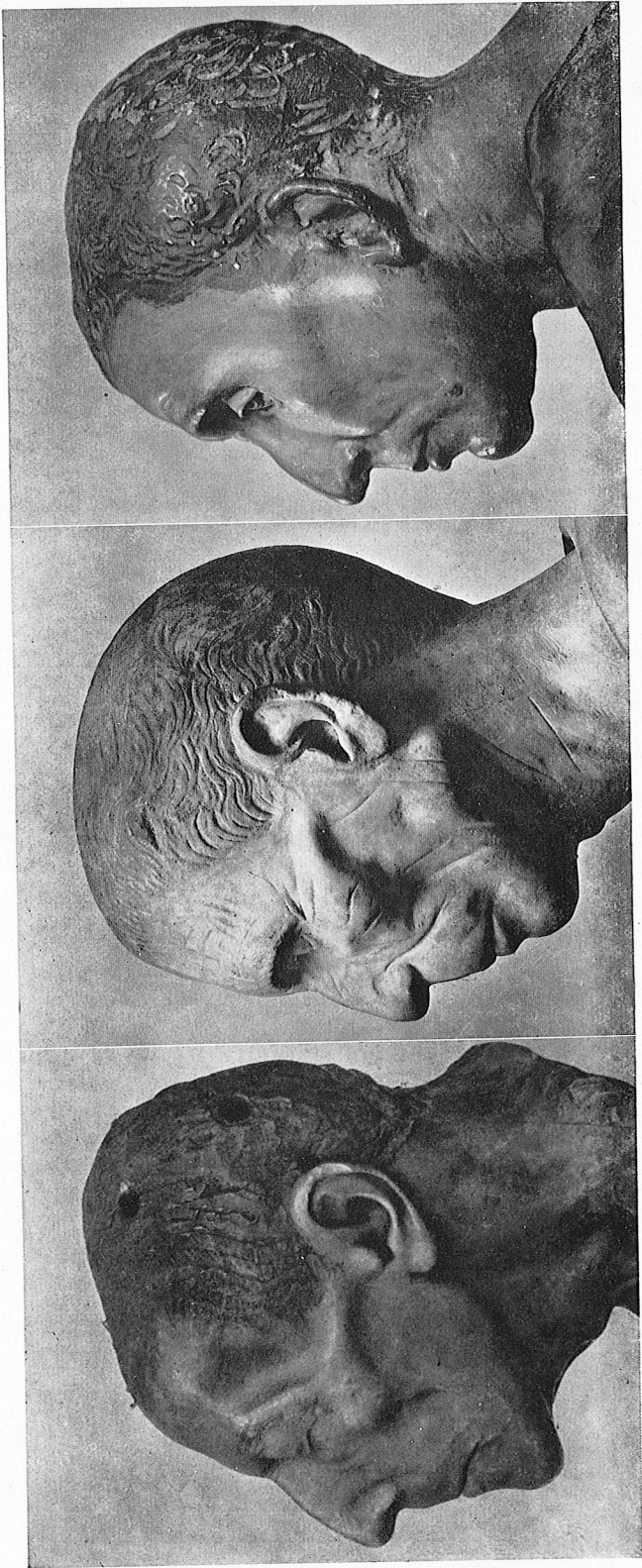
b.



c.



e.



a. Death mask of Frederic the Great
b. Head C . . . Albertinum, Dresden
c. "Niccolò da Uzzano" . . . Florence